

# **Communist Policy for Britain**

**REPORT**

**of the**

**18th National Congress**

**of**

**Communist Party**

**November, 1945**

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## CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

*By WILLIAM GALLACHER, M.P.*

Our Party occupies a very responsible position, not only in relation to the Labour movement in this country, but to the progressive forces throughout Europe and the world. Here at this Congress we have representatives from many lands, where our brother Parties in association with the progressive forces, are battling hard and bravely, as they did in the days of the liberation movements, to rebuild their countries from the ruin and desolation of war. They look to this country for sympathy and support. They must not look in vain.

At the General Election, our people, moving in a mighty wave, swept the reactionary representatives of the landlords and monopoly capitalists—the Tory Party—out of power. They returned for the first time a majority Labour Government. They wanted, and they still want, peace, reconstruction in Europe, and big fundamental changes in the economic system of this country. If the Labour Government carries out the mandate of the people, the Tory Party and all it represents is finished for good.

The main responsibility for seeing that this mandate is effectively operated will lie with our Party. We have got to carry on continuous campaigns in the Labour movement, in the trade unions, throughout the Co-operatives, in the factories, everywhere throughout the country, in order to build up the greatest measure of unity of all working-class and progressive forces around the Labour Government. This is the one sure way of strengthening the forces in Parliament for carrying out the policy the people desire. It would be a calamity for the working-class movement if the Labour Government failed to do its job. We must see that it does not fail. We must spare no effort to ensure a victory following the Election commensurate with the Election victory itself.

This is the job that can be done by our Party, and by our Party alone. The Labour movement is not built for, has not got the machinery that can make great campaigns. Our Party is built for that purpose, to arouse the masses and give them

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effective political leadership. We should take note of our campaigns during the War—terrific campaigns, in all parts of the country, with great central demonstrations in all of the big centres particularly in Trafalgar Square, with deputations from factories and from housewives to the House of Commons, with masses of popular literature circulating week after week, with the *Daily Worker* hammering home lesson after lesson day by day—all of these activities were associated with, and to a considerable extent the cause of, the great swing against Toryism and for the Labour movement expressed at the General Election.

Now, with even greater energy we must carry forward our work, so that the masses, ever conscious, ever active, will strengthen the resolution of the Labour Party in Parliament, and thereby drive the Labour Government forward to a policy in keeping with the needs of the people of this country and the reconstruction of Europe.

These, with the many other questions that will come up at this Congress, constitute the work that calls for immediate attention by our Party. This Congress has a great opportunity. We are meeting here with representatives from our brother Parties, drawn from many countries, and we must show to them that they can rely upon us and through us upon the people of Britain for assistance in the hard battles that lie before them.

This Congress has a great opportunity of giving a lead to the Labour movement, to the people of the country as a whole. I am certain it will rise to the occasion, and will mark a new stage in the great advance of the people of this country, in association with the progressive peoples of all countries, towards the realisation of the age-long dream of Socialism.



# COMMUNIST POLICY FOR BRITAIN

## POLITICAL REPORT

By *HARRY POLLITT*

This Congress has a right to celebrate one of the greatest victories in the long struggle of the working class—the military victory over fascism, which is also a blow at the most powerful and reactionary enemies of the working class throughout the world.

This is why the end of the war has been followed immediately by renewed attempts on the part of capitalist reaction to preserve and foster the remnants of fascism and to weaken the alliance between Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union.

We can see these forces at work in the breakdown of the Council of Foreign Ministers, in the attempts to revise the Berlin decisions, in the attacks made by the British and American Governments on the new democratic régimes in Eastern Europe, in the maintenance of brutal dictatorship in Greece by using the armed forces of Britain, and above all, in the attempts of the British and American Governments to use the atomic bomb as a weapon in the struggle of the old capitalist world to maintain power at all costs; in face of the advancing might of the new world of democracy and Socialism.

Already the old imperialist rivalries are asserting themselves in sharper forms. Leading capitalists in the United States—which emerges from the war indisputably the strongest economic power in the capitalist world—have used the ending of Lend-Lease as a weapon against their British trade rivals so that they may be in a better position to secure their own domination in world markets and sweep aside the political restrictions imposed on them by British imperialism.

Meanwhile, the old British imperialist interests and imperialism everywhere are being undermined by the rising movements for colonial independence. They are meeting that threat, in alliance with their fellow imperialists in France, Holland and the United States, with the most open violence and oppression, particularly against the colonial peoples in Indonesia and Indo-China.

Against all these forces of reaction, the forces working for international co-operation and lasting peace have grown stronger. Today the glorious strength of the Socialist Soviet Union stands revealed to the whole world. In many European countries new democratic governments have emerged that will no longer be the pawns of rival imperialist powers but will become bastions of social progress and democracy. There has been a tremendous and splendid awakening of the colonial peoples. In Britain a Labour Government and a large number of Labour majorities in local Councils mean that reactionary forces have been turned out of many of their former strongholds.

The Communist Party and the working class will intensify their struggle for the unity of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union in solving the urgent problems of peace. This great coalition has overcome the hostility of powerful reactionary forces in war. If the leadership and unity of the working class is still further strengthened, this great coalition can overcome all the existing opposition and be enabled to build a lasting peace, and secure new forms of international economic co-operation which will assist in organising full employment.

There is no doubt about the main problems which are going to demand the unity of the Labour and progressive movement in Britain: the guarantee of lasting peace; assistance in the speedy restoration of European economy; the quick demobilisation of our armed forces; a solution of the urgent coal and housing crises; the reorganisation of Britain's key industries; our help to the Colonial peoples to win their freedom from imperialist exploitation, and the winning of a better and fuller life for the working people of Britain.

The existence of a Labour Government provides opportunities for the working class to make its full contribution to the successful solution of these problems.

### **The Communist Party and the Labour Government**

We shall be able to define more clearly what the attitude of the Communist Party to the Labour Government should be, if we note the important differences which exist now, as compared to the situation when previous Labour Governments held office in 1924 and 1929.

First, previous Labour Governments were in a minority in Parliament. The plea of the minority position was presented as the justification for a policy of complete capitulation to the



capitalists; they were terrified to interfere with Capitalism, even to the extent of carrying out capitalism's own declared policy.

The present Labour Government has a clear Parliamentary majority and it is committed to a definite programme of important reforms, including a series of measures of nationalisation, which, while not yet the achievement of Socialism, will represent a big step forward for the working class. The fulfilment of this programme depends above all upon the mass pressure of the Labour movement, both to defeat the resistance of reaction, and to overcome the outlook of certain Labour leaders, who still look to the capitalists and not to the working class as the leading force in the nation.

Second, it can work in close alliance with the new Europe and, above all, with the Soviet Union.

The Labour movement wants its Government to be a new kind of Government, one that has decisively broken with imperialism. Only so will it be able to win strong and powerful allies in the Dominions, the new Europe, the U.S.S.R. and in the freed colonial countries, and retain the unstinted confidence and support of the working class of Britain. Only so can it strengthen its relations with the progressive forces in America and consolidate the lasting unity of the United Nations as a whole.

The Communist Party will put forward at all times the policy that it believes should be adopted at every stage of the struggle against capitalism, and will give its full support also to the Labour Government when it is fighting for carrying through its General Election policy.

The Communist Party will never hesitate to criticise firmly and strongly aspects of Labour Government policy which, either on home or foreign affairs, are not in the best interests of the working class and the nation. This criticism will strengthen the fight against the Tories and all who stand in the way of the policy the people voted for at the General Election being operated with the least possible delay.

The fight for the operation of Labour's policy demands the strongest activity and organisation inside and outside of Parliament, so that the whole political and industrial power of the organised working class and its allies can be brought into the struggle against capitalism.

The working class must be fully alive to the power and influence of the Tory Party and its supporters. They occupy the

key position in industry, finance, press and radio, and will not miss attempts either to water down Labour's policy or to sabotage it.

Just as the Tories call upon their allies in the ranks of the employers, bankers and landlords to organise opposition and pressure against the Labour Government, so must the Government organise its allies in the factories, trade unions, Co-operatives and in the Labour and Communist Parties to crush the Tory opposition.

The full achievement of the declared policy of the Labour Government will be an important advance for the working class. It will seriously weaken the power and influence of capitalism, and help clear the way for great strides forward for the winning of complete political power, thus enabling the working class to carry out its historic mission—the establishment of Socialism.

### **Our Policy After Crimea**

At this point it will be useful to deal with the character of the political mistakes we made in formulating certain aspects of our policy before and after the Crimea Conference.

Our fight for national and international unity during the war was correct; the fight for unity of all the progressive forces in the conditions of peace was also correct.

We were right when we made clear to our membership that we should recognise a new world situation where in the course of the struggle against fascism, the international co-operation of the capitalist and Socialist world had become a necessity if fascism was to be defeated.

We were correct in showing that such an alliance would lead not only to military victories, but to political victories which would strengthen the position of the working class the world over.

We had to fight against the defeatist school of thought which treated the victory over fascism and the alliance of capitalist countries with the Soviet Union as a mere incident and said the outcome would only be "the same as last time."

The Communist Parties in Europe were fighting along similar general lines of policy, and, like our own, were increasing their influence throughout the Labour and progressive movements, increasing their own membership and strengthening the entire Labour movement.

In the United States, however, proposals were put forward by

Earl Browder which assumed a basic change in the character of imperialism, denied its reactionary rôle, and held out a long-term perspective of harmonious capitalist development and class peace after the war, both for the United States and the world. It was from this analysis that the decision was taken to dissolve the Communist Party in the United States.

We defended our American comrades when they were attacked by the enemies of Communism in Britain, not because we agreed with them, but because we felt it to be our duty to defend a brother Party against the attacks of its enemies at a critical period in the political situation in the United States.

The line of Browder did exercise a limited influence in our Party, although in view of the statements of some comrades in our pre-Congress discussion that the Executive Committee of our Party succumbed to "Browderism," it is necessary to state publicly that we resisted definite attempts to import Browder's basic ideas into our Party by some of our own comrades.

Our policy during the period of the anti-fascist war was quite clear. First, to subordinate everything to winning the war. Second, to ensure that the unity of the United Nations was as strong in peace as in war. Third, to end Tory domination at the General Election. Fourth, to secure the unity of the Labour and progressive movement in Britain, so that the General Election and the peace could be won in the interests of the people. Fifth, to strengthen the Communist Party as a vital means of securing these objectives.

It should be no matter for surprise that in a complex and changing situation we did make political mistakes in the practical application of our general line of policy.

It becomes clear, in the light of the Election results and the political developments that had taken place, that the proposal (put forward after the Crimea Conference) to form a Coalition Government, including the Tories, after the Election, was a political mistake.

It revealed an under-estimation of the growth of political consciousness in the working class and the professional and middle class sections of the nation. It exaggerated the degree of the differentiation in the Tory Party and the support for the Liberal Party in the country, and did not take fully into account how quickly the reactionary forces would resume their old political struggle against the working class and their own capitalist competitors.

Now the struggle for the fulfilment of the decisions of the Crimea Conference, on which the immediate future of world peace and social progress depend, must be carried out by the Labour Government. This will demand the fullest mobilisation of the mass pressure and leadership of the whole Labour movement, both against those in Government positions who seek to effect a revision of these decisions on the one hand, and the open opposition of the capitalist reactionary forces on the other hand.

But the mistakes we did make are infinitesimal compared with the great and lasting character of the contribution that the Communist Party made towards the winning of the war and the opening of a new epoch for the British people—our fight for increased production, for the opening of the Second Front, against Munichism, for the purging of the State machine from all pro-fascist elements, for increasing pay and pensions for men and women of the armed forces, for the solidarity of the British and Soviet people, for the ending of Tory domination in Parliament; and the practical work done in the General Election, not only in the constituencies which we fought, but in all others on behalf of the Labour Party. All these represent great political achievements, which played an important part in the development of that lasting political understanding which brought Labour to power, as the first steps towards even greater victories for the working class over capitalism and reaction in the years immediately ahead.

We will now turn to the question of what policy at home and abroad should be carried through to ensure a bright and happy future for the people of Britain. We do not propose to deal with every detail of this, because so many aspects of it are covered in other reports and resolutions.

### **BRITAIN'S FUTURE : HOME POLICY**

With the end of the war the blunt issue now is:—Will the resources of Britain continue to be used for capitalist profit or will they be used to meet the crying needs of the people at the expense of profit?

The British people now want to go forward to a new and better Britain. They have shown in the General and Municipal Elections their determination to secure this.

If today there is so much backwardness in the organisation and methods of production in many sections of British industry,

this is the fault of the class who have owned and controlled our industries and land in their own selfish interests. It is the fault of those who used the profit they made out of the labour of British workers, not to maintain and develop the productive resources of this country, but to exploit millions of labouring people in India, Africa and other parts of the world.

Today, the ownership and control of the means of production in Britain are still in the hands of this class. The problems of the economic revival of Britain, of the full use of Britain's human and material resources, are problems which this class can never solve.

The experience of the war has shown our great power of production, once our resources are fully used to serve and direct the interests of the nation. Our working class, administrators, technicians and scientists, with two hundred years of industrial experience behind them, have the skill, initiative and ability to solve all the technical difficulties in the way of raising the level of production in British industry and agriculture, and thus make possible a great step forward in the conditions of life for the British people.

This means the use of Britain's resources not only to give full employment but to ensure that the products of our industry and agriculture come more and more to the working people, raising their standard of living and their conditions of work, their health, their education and their enjoyment of leisure. Any conception of an economic revival that puts profit first, or one not directly based on a fuller life for the working people, will be fought. It is not only politically wrong but in present conditions can lead only to crisis and unemployment on a scale greater than Britain has ever known.

With the end of the war Britain faces acute economic problems. There are not only the pressing issues of reconversion but the special difficulties of the shrinking basis of British imperialist economy accentuated by the war and the sharp world trade antagonisms now opening up.

Never did a greater struggle against British capitalist interests confront the people. A vast pent-up demand for production and consumption goods exists in Britain and stricken Europe.

Labour's job is to produce an over-all economic plan going far beyond anything so far contemplated in the programme of the Labour Government.



The bold measures to reorganise and modernise our industry, transport and agriculture, as well as our foreign trade, must be carried through without wavering and with the utmost speed.

This calls for the nationalisation of the key industries of coal and power, steel and transport, and their re-equipment to increase their efficiency and provide the greatly increased output required. It means also the nationalisation of banks and land, and decisive changes in the whole of our financial policy.

It means driving forward for the modernisation of important industries left in private hands, and placing Government bulk orders for urgent social needs in order to guarantee continuous production with an assured market.

It means Government control of prices, raw materials, and essential supplies to safeguard the public interest and ensure priorities for the most urgent jobs.

It means solving the problem of obtaining the necessary foreign food and raw materials to get industry running on our own resources, and a policy, in co-operation with other United Nations, of international credit, trade and investment.

Given these bold steps to satisfy the people's great needs, rigorously fighting every effort of British capitalism to impede and destroy this programme, there is no reason why a high level of employment for the British people cannot be assured for the next three or four years and the Government placed in a strong position to combat the forces of economic crisis which will face us when the replacement boom is over. One of the most serious weaknesses of the Government is the lack of such a plan, and the entire Labour movement must fight for it now.

For the satisfying of the people's needs two essential features of such a plan must be (1) measures to increase wages decisively at the expense of profits; (2) the development of a progressive tax system and the bold and rapid carrying through of Labour's social programme.

We reject any theory that wages and living conditions for the working people can be raised only if and when a great increase in productivity has been attained. There is ample scope for increasing wages and social services now at the expense of profits. Indeed, as a result of the increasing productivity of labour and the rise in prices, profits have been increasing, relative to wages, over the last twenty years at least.



Again, we cannot accept any theory that our great social programme cannot be carried through or must be slowed down in any way because of export difficulties, or because United States imperialism will not be so kind to us if we take bold measures of social advance. Any difficulties arising from these causes, will be the most speedily overcome, the quicker we carry through the programme of revival for British industry which is inseparably linked with raising our standard of life.

## EXPORTS

On Britain's foreign trade position Labour must make a decisive choice. We are at the parting of the ways. The old imperialist basis of British economy, the imperial tribute from foreign and colonial investment, the exclusive shipping income, etc., covering our excess imports largely rested on our position as a colonial power. Labour must find a new policy, not try to re-establish the old against the will of the Colonial peoples, or a new trade war, which in view of Britain's backward industry, could only be carried out with a policy of wage reductions and slashing of home standards.

Labour must decisively reject the slogan of the imperialist financiers and their economists, "Export or Die." The British people are not prepared to allow their economic and social advance to be held back under the pretext that exports must be increased at all costs along the traditional capitalist lines.

Of course we need some imports, and we must export to pay for them. But if we try to solve the problems by an unbridled competitive drive at the cost of the workers, as the monopoly capitalists suggest, we shall soon find ourselves, not with higher imports and exports, but with an economic crisis.

We Communists advance our alternative programme, a Labour approach to Britain's special problems.

In the first place, our dependence on imports can be greatly reduced by the full use of our own resources, especially the development of our agricultural production.

Secondly, the plans for the drastic modernisation of our basic industries, coal, steel, transport, ship-building and cotton, will place Britain in a position where her chemicals, machinery and consumer goods can take a leading place on the world market. The products that are most in demand today overseas are especially those goods—machinery, locomotives, ships, lorries,

electrical equipment, chemicals and textiles—which Britain has the skilled workers to supply.

Thirdly, exports can no longer be left to the free-for-all scramble for profits by the capitalists. The Government must ensure the grouping and planning of export orders, having in mind the long-term needs and requirements of the purchasing countries.

Fourthly, exports in payment for the necessary imports can, in the long run, be secured only by developing the closest friendly relations with other countries, especially with the Soviet Union and the new progressive governments in Europe, fully operating the Bretton Woods Agreement, and granting to colonial countries the political freedom which is essential for their economic development and prosperity. In this way new forms of international economic co-operation can be established which will not only enable the productive resources of the world to be organised for the mutual benefit of all peoples, but also place the Labour and peoples' Governments throughout the world in a stronger position to fight the dangers of a new economic crisis in the capitalist countries.

## WAGES

For six years the industrial working class has rendered magnificent service to the nation. Now victory over fascism has been won, there is a natural desire that peace shall also bring its victories in the form of improved wages and working conditions, even though the workers fully understand that the transition from a war to a peace economy is no easy path and they are prepared to take this into account.

The ending of continuous overtime and reductions in relatively high wartime piece-work earnings and bonuses in some industries has brought the change sharply to the notice of the workers, while at the same time the employers are doing their utmost to force rates back to old levels which the workers will certainly not accept after their war experiences. Decisive improvements in wages and conditions are vital in all the low paid industries if the reconversion programme is ever to be carried through.

Our wages policy was formulated by our Congress last year. The essential points were the demand for an all-round increase and revised scales for each industry, based on a £4 10s. minimum,

equal pay for women, improved wages for age scales for young workers; combined with strict control of prices and the remission of taxation that bears heavily on the workers. We Communists will be the foremost champions in the fight to improve wages.

In reply to the employers' cry, "We can't afford it," we must point out that the proportion of the national production taken by interest and profit has risen each year during the war, and that higher wages will be a powerful stimulus to improve the technique and methods of industry and cut out the superfluous middlemen in practically every section of trade, as well as provide a steady and increasing market for the products of modern mass production.

In this connection, we call attention to the official report made in the United States that the general level of wages could be increased by 24 per cent without any increase in prices, and to President Truman's statement along those lines.

The Labour Government must at once state its national plan, both for production as a whole and with regard to wages. It should immediately implement the Trades Union Congress resolution on equal pay and call for the speedy presentation of the Report of the Royal Commission on Equal Pay.

### **TRADE UNION POLICY**

We have also to note the new important role that the trade unions are called upon to play. Providing there is the closest consultation by the Government with the Trade Union Congress and the most sincere effort to obtain full co-operation of all its affiliated trade unions, the organised trade unionists can become the principal basis of Labour support against all the activities of the class enemy. They can be the guarantee, especially in industries that are to be nationalised or brought under a measure of State control and guidance, that the full co-operation of the workers through their shop stewards and trade unions is obtained and provide the means through which sabotage is defeated.

The Communist Party welcomes the growing mass movement among the workers in industry to improve their conditions, which can be a tremendous reserve of power and strength for realising the programme of the Labour Government itself.

The recent marches of the building trade workers in London and the strike of the dockers must, however, serve to warn the Labour Government and the trade unions of the urgent need

for the whole movement to face up to new problems associated with the wages and conditions of the workers. Increased wages, economic reorganisation and social progress are all bound up with each other, and this fact has to be recognised by the whole Labour movement and the Government.

There must be an immediate review of the whole procedure for settling disputes, for speeding up negotiations, and for cases referred to Arbitration Tribunals to be heard at the earliest possible moment. There is equal urgency in demanding a change in the composition of Arbitration Tribunals, so that they are not, as at present, biased in favour of the employers.

The Trades Union Congress might consider calling a special conference of trade union executive committees to consider what can be done to meet the needs of the workers in the new situation.

The Communist Party will campaign to assist the workers, men and women alike, to secure their just demands by every means of mass pressure, winning the support of public opinion by careful and convincing explanations of their case, and helping to strengthen their organisations. It will defend the workers' right to strike, knowing full well that no strike ever takes place unless the sense of injustice and delay in meeting the workers' claim is exceptionally deep and no other course seems open to them. At the same time, the workers need to be on guard against allowing provocative tactics of the employers to split their own ranks.

The working class will demand that the Labour Government shall deal boldly and fearlessly with any attempts on the part of the employers either to reduce wages, worsen working conditions or close down factories as a means of embarrassing the Labour Government. The full power of the Government must be used, not only in defence of the workers' conditions and against those employers who seek to undermine working-class standards, but for those basic improvements in pay, shorter hours and longer holidays which are so closely bound up with the drive for full employment.

The Communist Party will urge the workers to make the fullest use of the trade union negotiating machinery so that there may be the same steady increase in production for the needs of the people that has been necessary in the production of the munitions of war.

The Communist Party believes that the organised workers have now developed such powerful trade union, factory and shop steward organisations that, in co-operation with the Labour Government, they can secure the workers' demands with the very minimum of industrial disturbances.

One word of warning, however. If the trade unions are to play their part many of them will have to overhaul their own organisations.

The executives of the unions, and active trade unionists, have now the responsibility, first of ensuring an active democratic life among the membership at work and in the trade union branches, second, of finding the way to ensure proper reporting and information to their members at every stage and consultations with them before all important decisions are taken. Events have also shown the importance of officials being elected by the membership and subject to re-election at frequent intervals, of annual policy conferences, of active district committees in all unions—otherwise a wedge may be driven by the capitalists between the higher officials and the membership and the unity of Government and Labour movement may be seriously undermined.

The Communist Party will as always do everything in its power to increase the membership of the trade unions, it will strive to ensure that every factory and office where its members are employed are one hundred per cent trade union; it pledges its members to set the personal example in their attendance at trade union branch meetings, in strengthening factory organisation, in working for the immediate fulfilment of the Trades Union Congress policy on Trade Union Unity, and in general, in making the trade union movement the fighting champion of the interests of the organised workers and their families.

Now we will turn to the question of what foreign policy Britain needs to pursue if it is to remain a first-class progressive Power in the world.

## **FOREIGN POLICY**

Shall Britain go forward in association with the new rising democratic forces of the world, along the path of international democratic political and economic co-operation on the basis of the joint leadership of Britain, the Soviet Union and the United

States, for the fulfilment of the decisions of the Crimea, San Francisco, Bretton Woods, Cairo and Berlin Conferences? Or will the old reactionary forces be allowed to influence the Labour Government? Will they drag British foreign policy back on to the old lines of imperialist rivalries, the balance of power, anti-democratic and anti-Soviet intrigue, the fostering of German reaction, support for a Western bloc, intensified trade war, and, as a result of all this, the outbreak of a new World War?

This is the choice that is open to our country and the Labour Government. No one can watch the foreign policy at present being carried through by the Government without concern and alarm.

We of the Communist Party are convinced that the only secure and prosperous future for Britain lies along the path of alliance with the new world forces of democracy, social progress and Socialism. The alliance of the three great Powers is going through a critical testing time. The answering of the outstanding problems is vital if lasting peace is to be assured.

But let there be no illusions. If such a policy is to be successfully carried through, it demands resolute maintenance of the close partnership of the three decisive powers in the world—Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States of America—in the leadership of the United Nations as a whole.

This is why we must regard the role of Britain at the London Conference of Foreign Secretaries with such grave misgivings, why we must work for the ending of the present deadlock and demand immediate steps to re-establish closer co-operation between Britain and the Soviet Union.

Britain's future depends more upon the closest co-operation with the Soviet Union than on any other single factor in the international situation.

Such relations are not improved by any decisions indicating lack of trust in the Soviet Union or "cards upon the table" talk. The Soviet Union will never be blackmailed by the atomic bomb or anything else. What the Chamberlains and Hitlers failed to do no Anglo-American imperialist bloc will ever accomplish. The British people serves warning on the Government: it will never stand for such a bloc. Mr. Attlee would do well to note only one nation still possesses the atomic bomb secret—and it is not Britain. No country would suffer more than Britain if ever this deadly weapon were used. Outstanding differences between Britain and the Soviet Union must be solved.



The Soviet Union's foreign policy is designed to ensure that the peace that has been won at such a terrible cost shall be a lasting peace, that the political and moral destruction of fascism shall be attained, that never again shall Germany occupy a position in which it can menace world peace, that the war criminals shall be swiftly and justly punished, and Germany made to assist in the restoration of countries which the Nazis devastated, that the United Nations shall stand as strong and united in peace as they were in war, so that peace and prosperity shall become the fruits of victory for all who worked and fought for the defeat of fascism.

The Government is endangering the whole future of the people if it gives any countenance to the reactionary policies, either from the Right or the so-called "Left," which seek to revise the Crimea and Berlin decisions and aim at the restoration of German economic power and monopoly capitalism—with all its dangerous future war potential—and the preservation of the structure of imperialist Japan.

Who, that hopes we have seen the end of war, dare ignore the plain facts about the still remaining war potential of Germany? A number of facts are at hand to expose the pretence that German economy and industry are irrevocably destroyed, and that nothing but ruin stares the German nation in the face.

Senator Kilgore was appointed by the United States to investigate Germany's remaining capacity for organising future wars. Here is an extract from his report:—

"The Sub-Committee found that Germany's vast industrial potential remains undamaged by war and that she still has a world network of commercial relationships and economic, political and espionage outposts which she could mobilise for another war . . . . Germany is better prepared now to implement her plot for world conquest than she was at the end of World War I, and in defeat remains a major threat to world peace."

After the 1914-18 war the common people swore "Never Again." But it happened. British policy was not concerned with permanently crushing German militarism, but with fostering a German economic revival and building up German reaction as its weapon for attack upon the Soviet Union.

We must demand an end of British policy which places Nazis in administrative, economic and security organs in the British zone in Germany, while refusing to allow hundreds of German

anti-fascist refugees in Britain to return to Germany and play a vital part in the development of a new democratic Germany. We must resist the carefully organised propaganda that it is necessary to preserve the heavy industries of the Rhineland. We must demand that every facility be given for the development of free, anti-fascist trade unions and political parties and a prosperous agriculture and light industry as the basis of a peaceful German economy.

We must expose and fight those who so assiduously propagate the creation of a Western bloc. The real aim behind all such propaganda is a revival of the conception of the Four-Power Pact of Munich. The real aim is the division of Europe, and through this the revival of German imperialism as the bulwark against the advance of democracy and Socialism in Eastern Europe.

It is this concept of foreign policy which more than anything else is behind the recent de Gaulle crisis. It is to the eternal credit of the French Communists that they are fighting for a line which means the future peace of Europe.

This policy of the Western bloc creates misunderstanding and mistrust in the United States, for ultimately the Western bloc is also directed against that country. It destroys the whole principle of the collective security of peace. The formula of Western European solidarity as against co-operation with the Soviet Union and the new democratic Europe is the direct continuation of Hitler's policy of the "New Order in Europe."

The people did not fight this war to destroy the military power of fascism only, but to organise its political and moral defeat as well. Britain's name is stained by its present policy, especially towards Greece, Indonesia and Spain. The Labour movement has clearly demanded an end to the recognition of the Franco Government by a Labour Government. The people demand that the Greek anti-fascist movement shall not a day longer be suppressed by British bayonets.

It is also necessary to issue a sharp warning against present tendencies to treat Japan in the same way as Germany was treated in 1918; that is to say, to leave the old imperialist structure intact, and even to seek to use Japanese militarism as a buttress of "law and order" against the peoples of South-East Asia.

Liberty and democracy are no special privilege for the British people; they are for the peoples of all the Colonial countries as

well. Our British lads did not put on uniform to protect the profit-making interests of imperialist exploiters in Asia, whether British, Dutch, French or American. They did not join up to shoot down their own comrades of other lands, who for so many long years have put up such a magnificent fight for freedom from imperialism.

Freedom for the colonies is the other side of the demand for the destruction of the last vestiges of fascism in Europe. The propagandists for the Western bloc regard the retention of the imperialist stranglehold on the colonial territories as vital for their plan. It is not only a Western bloc but a bloc of empires.

We are responsible for giving every assistance to the national aspirations of all the Indian and Colonial peoples, and, at the particular moment, the peoples of South-East Asia. We must demand, and organise mass pressure to ensure, that the Labour Government shall not use the armed forces under its control, whether British or Indian, for the suppression of the rightful struggle of these peoples for their freedom and independence from imperialist oppression.

We warn the Labour movement that unless it compels the Government to change completely its present foreign policy, which is simply the continuation of the imperialist line of the Tory Party and the reactionary monopoly capitalists, there can be no fundamental social progress in Britain, and that the whole future of this country is in grave peril.

It is fitting that at this stage we should now take up some questions concerning democracy and Socialism.

## **DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM**

The question of democracy lies at the very heart of the international situation. Public attention has been focussed on it because since the end of the war attempts are being made to show that democracy exists only in Western Europe and America, and that in the Soviet Union and the Balkans there exist forms of government that are not democratic.

Alongside this type of propaganda another theory is also advanced—that there is a Western Socialism and an Eastern Socialism. The first is alleged to be Socialism based on democracy, and the second, Socialism based on dictatorship.

We believe it will not be long before we see how those responsible for the spread of these dangerous ideas begin to take

under their wing and most anti-democratic, anti-working-class elements in Europe in general and Germany in particular.

There have been other occasions when the arch-reactionary capitalist forces have made their fight against the advance of the working class under the banner of democracy. We are not surprised to see them once again encouraging certain Labour leaders to become the standard bearers of their cause.

It is of vital importance to the future prosperity and peace of Britain that the Labour Government should establish friendly and close relations with the new Governments of liberated Europe—with Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. Skilled foreign journalists covering the elections in these countries have unanimously stated they are the first free and democratic elections that have ever taken place in the Balkans.

Those Governments, which are now being ostracised and opposed by the Labour Government on the ground that they are undemocratic, enjoy the support of the vast majority of the people in those countries. Already they have carried out great agrarian reforms, nationalised a number of industries, introduced radical democratic measures and brought their countries into good relations with their neighbours for the first time in history. These Governments are attacked, therefore, by those very interests who want to see the undisputed sway of landlords and capitalists established once again, and to use them once more as bases against the Soviet Union.

Of course, when the people win democratic rights after generations of savage repression, when they have seen the terrible crimes committed by the Nazis and Quislings, and when their country is half starving and devastated by war, then their democracy may appear surprisingly unanimous to those who have been sheltered. It may even appear to have some rather rough edges, especially to those who have never had to fight for democratic rights under a Nazi occupation or a native fascism, and who therefore think history should happen smoothly and tidily.

It is, therefore, necessary to say quite clearly that a country like Yugoslavia, which gives the land to the peasants to work it, is in many ways more democratic than one like Britain, where hundreds of thousands of acres belong to a few rich families.

Such a country as Yugoslavia, which locks up and shoots its fascists, is more democratic than one which lets them live and

plot in comfort in large country houses, where a Labour Government refuses to publish the names of Nazi supporters in Captain Ramsay's Red Book, or the names of highly-placed British supporters of Hitler found in the Nazi archives in Munich.

The test the workers apply to a democratic government today is. For whose benefit does it exist? For the people, or for their enemies?

There are people in Britain even now who regard any revolutionary movement with horror just because it means the destruction of the old forms of State and a new beginning with a new class in power.

They forget that our existing democratic rights are themselves based on a revolution in which by a long series of struggles, we got rid of feudal land-ownership, the Divine Right of Kings and the Star Chamber, and eventually won the right of trade union organisation and the right to vote. These things could not have been won without revolutionary struggle against the old type of State power.

British people who are really proud of their own democratic traditions should acclaim and support these new democratic movements in Eastern Europe, just as our early trade unionists and our intellectuals—Shelley, Wordsworth and William Blake—welcomed the great French Revolution when all the reactionaries in British society wanted to suppress it.

The advent of the Labour Government makes possible great advances in democracy in Britain. It is a democratic advance at this stage to nationalise certain industries with compensation for the capitalists. We Communists quite agree that it is an advance, but it is wrong to call it Socialism. If we compare it with the immense, bold planning of reconstruction in the Soviet Union, where all the national skill and ability will be used for the people's needs and nothing else, we shall understand that in the matter of democracy we are only at the very beginning of our road. The fact remains that no Labour Government in any part of the world has yet achieved Socialism, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. Only in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party has a classless society been achieved. That is the real difference between "Western" and "Eastern" Socialism.



All this does not mean that we deny the importance and value of democracy for the working class under capitalism. We believe it is a weapon of tremendous importance in the struggle to win a higher, a Socialist democracy, where the people not only vote but control and administer things.

Marx and Engels understood this when they led the fight for the industrial workers' vote in the 1860s. No one understood better than Lenin the restrictions of a Parliamentary democracy in a capitalist country. Yet Lenin argued tirelessly to convince the young British Communists that they must learn to use every democratic opening, not just dismiss Parliament as a talking shop, but use Parliamentary work to strengthen the Labour movement and advance their revolutionary movement for Socialism.

In returning a Labour Government and electing so many Labour majorities on the local Councils, the workers are fighting for an extension of democracy and a much more direct say in the running of affairs. They want to reach a new type of democracy in which the working class really rule, and not a democracy restricted by the power of wealth.

We know we shall have to face many conflicts with the reactionary forces to reach this position, but we are confident that the greatly increased confidence and ability of the working class will enable them to win.

The country will not be transformed by a stroke of the pen and then leaving it to the Civil Service and the police. The organised workers, the people as a whole, must understand what the plans are, what the difficulties are, and must be given the chance to use their skill and initiative to overcome them. The Labour Government must continually consult the people who elected it so that criticism and suggestions can be made and heeded in good time.

If the Labour Government is to carry out its policy, it will have to promote real democratic leadership and control in all the decisive positions of the State machine, in the Civil Service, Foreign Office and Armed Forces.

How can the Halifaxes and Leepers carry out a real democratic foreign policy? How can people who fundamentally believe in private enterprise carry out policies that involve the nationalisation of the mines and the Bank of England?

How can a diehard Tory like Sir John Anderson be allowed



to continue as the Labour Government's official in charge of atom bomb research?

How can a Labour Government be truly democratic when it refuses to grant democracy to the Colonial peoples?

The reorganisation of the State in a more democratic direction is necessary to consolidate the gains of the working class, and assist it in its future struggles against capitalism.

It is, however, also necessary to be clear as to what we mean by Socialism. For many Labour leaders, the idea of Socialism—Western Socialism if you like—is one which leaves untouched the fundamental question of abolishing the system of rent, interest and profit, the exploitation of man by man. It does not include the ownership of the means of production by the people or the liberation of the Colonial peoples. Their conception of Socialism is nationalisation with compensation. Profit is still to go to a privileged class. This goes along with a conception of “gradualism” in achieving socialist aims, which in practice leaves the capitalist class free to overthrow democracy before any fundamental changes are made. In their anxiety to secure a fair crack of the whip for the capitalist class, these super-democrats forget that the capitalists have always used their power to destroy democracy when it became dangerous to them. This is not of academic interest to the Labour movement, it is of vital importance.

It is this difference in outlook which explains why at various times in the past, and at the present time, sections of the capitalist class have given support to certain Labour leaders, believing that they could be used for the purposes of capitalism. They have no such hopes about the Communists, whose policy is based on the struggle against capitalism and who openly declare their final aim to be the establishment of a Socialist classless society, in which the exploitation of man by man for private gain is abolished, with all the changes that follow from this. We do not claim a monopoly of this aim. We believe it is shared by all the best workers in Labour's ranks, and it is their duty and ours to keep it ever before our movement.

### **THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

It was Marx and Engels who, one hundred years ago in the Communist Manifesto outlined the special part the Communists have to fulfil in the Labour movement. They wrote—

“The Communists have no interest separate and apart

from those of the proletariat as a whole. . . . The Communists are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat, the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."

These founders of scientific Socialism were the foremost fighters of their time for the day to day demands of the people, but their distinctive contribution to the developing Labour movement was that they were able to demonstrate the common interests of the movement, sought to weld it into one united whole, and with their great theoretical understanding showed how this fight was part of, and had to be merged into, the struggle for Socialism.

The British Labour movement is the product of a long and complicated history. Its strength has always been the recognition of the need to bring the great mass organisations, particularly the trade unions, into politics. But from the very beginning, the movement has been the scene of many internal political conflicts between those reflecting the limited ideas of their capitalist surroundings and those who sought to forge an independent working-class policy for transforming society. Many embittered battles had to be fought before even the Labour Party was formed.

The vital need for a core of clear Socialist thinkers and political workers to write and to give direction to the movement's work, and for organisations to train and develop such thinkers, was deeply felt; otherwise there would be no effective common policy overcoming sectional differences, there could be no way of advance from victory on a wider front and towards Socialism.

The Fabians, the S.D.F., the B.S.P. and the I.L.P. all tried in their various ways to supply this leadership, and bring the younger trade unionists to Socialist understanding. But the fatal weakness of all of them was their own lack of Marxist outlook. In seeking to organise the Labour Party, a class political movement of the workers, they tried to do so without the consistent scientific class theory and aim of Marxism.

It was Tom Mann, Arthur McManus, Thomas Bell, Albert Inkpin, and William Gallacher, M.P. and the organisations they

represented who in 1920, studying the experiences of the glorious Russian Revolution of November, 1917, took the initiative in forming a Communist Party in Britain. Experience had shown them that a Labour movement could achieve its Socialist aims only if the active Socialists in its ranks were organised into a disciplined Party, armed with a consistent working-class theory, enabling them to judge every event and struggle in relation to the ultimate aim of Socialism, strong enough to resist the corruption of Socialist ideas by the pressure of capitalism on certain Labour leaders, and the disorganising and confusing part this enables Social Democracy to play in the Labour movement.

The Communist Party has been, and is, the working-class organisation within the Labour movement which has brought to the front the common interests of the entire working class in Britain and the world. Because of its clear understanding of the "line of march," "the conditions and ultimate general results of the proletarian movement," it was able to relate every struggle for improvement of conditions to the aim of weakening the capitalist class and the advance to political power and Socialism.

It is facts like these which must be studied by many Labour workers, who understand that the working class must have good organisation, pay dues regularly, see that decisions are conscientiously carried out in a disciplined way, yet do not see the need for this revolutionary Marxist theory.

Never did the Labour movement so require this theory as it does today. Unless the movement is armed with this theory, unless there is the scientific understanding of the movement of history and politics based on the class struggle, the movement will never win through to victory, keeping its energy and enthusiasm and clear working-class line no matter how complicated the nature of the problems before it. Worse, the movement may easily become the tool of the capitalist class in its efforts to side-track and oppress the people. Unless it has a theory of its own, the movement becomes permeated with the theories of its opponents, the theories of the other side. You cannot, in practice, lead a movement without ideas, either the ideas of capitalism and imperialism or the ideas of Socialism. At this moment when Labour is in power events every day are showing this is the issue above all.

The Communist Party is a new type of Party, not only in its theory and general outlook, but also in its organisation and method of work. Seeing as its main task not only the struggles for

the immediate demands of the people but their development and combination into the general fight for Socialism, the Party seeks to advance the cause of the workers on every front.

It seeks to develop the working-class fight inside and outside Parliament. It does not and cannot rest content to be merely an electoral machine—it is active on all questions, inspiring mass campaigns, and actions, organising its members for this activity in the streets and towns, the factories, the offices and the pits.

Not by propaganda alone, but by dint of experience gained in the factory to increase wages, or in the streets against the landlords, the Communist Party has sought to advance the political understanding of the people and thus increase their confidence for the new stage of the fight.

It could do this only because it is an organised Party with local, district and national leadership. Its members work under the guidance of the Party, in an organised way—a leadership of the people, closely linked with the people and with every section of the movement. It increasingly brings to its ranks all that is best in the movement, men and women able to combine the work of all sections of the movement and direct their activities to the single goal of Socialism.

Today its tasks and responsibilities are greater than ever and we have sought to outline them in this Report.

The support behind the Labour Government would be immeasurably increased through a firmly united Labour movement. It is this fact which now makes the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party one of the most urgent questions. The chief political reason why the Communist Party should be affiliated to the Labour Party is that it is essential to strengthen the Labour Party and the Labour movement as a whole by the consistent class outlook of Marxism.

It is the recognition of this fact that has prompted some of the most important trade unions in Britain to support this policy. Added significance is given to this by the fact that these are precisely the trade unions which took the first step towards the creation of the Labour Party itself.

They now wish to see the Communist Party affiliated to the Labour Party because they know that the contribution it has made to the building up of workshop organisation, shop stewards and trade unionism as a whole can be repeated on the political field also.

It is also the desire of a large section of the middle class and of the Armed Forces who voted Labour at the General Election. They do not want to see the feuds and conflicts of the past carried forward in the new conditions, which demand the fullest unity of all sections of the workers' organisations.

To win the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party will be a hard fight, for just as capitalist reaction never gives up the struggle against the working class, so certain leaders of Social Democracy seem unable to give up their struggle against working-class unity and speedier developments towards Socialism.

But whereas these leaders receive the support of the capitalist class, the Communists receive the support of all the best, most sincere and forward-looking forces within the Labour movement. That is why we shall win in the end. In this respect the striking victories of the Communist Party in the recent Municipal Elections are an indication of a certain change in the political situation in Britain. These events and the experiences of the working class are bound to increase the influence and strength of the Party in Britain.

The tasks before the Party call for unprecedented activity on a mass scale. We have to unify the movement and inspire confidence in the strength of the working class and its allies. Obviously this can only be done by a Party which recruits to its ranks the best elements of the Labour movement and in every walk of life; a Party which gives them a lead in their day-to-day problems and helps them develop their own organisation; gives them the most thorough political education and training in schools, classes, discussion circles and meetings, in inspiring propaganda and in the daily experiences of the class struggle itself; a Party able to study and learn from the experiences of the whole Labour movement; one which can in a spirit of self-criticism correct its own mistakes; a Party which can work out an up-to-date strategy and tactics, which can help to strengthen the Labour movement and weaken big business and reaction. Such a Party is, and can only be, the Communist Party.

We will fight every tendency to dissolve the Communist Party, or submerge its independent Marxist role in the Labour movement as a whole, and we will equally fight those who see the Labour Party and the Labour Government as the main enemies, and not capitalism.



It was the Communist discipline, understanding and political training which enabled our brother parties under Hitler occupation in France, Yugoslavia, Norway and Italy to organise, despite fearful terror and mass executions, the tremendous movement of resistance to fascism and to win the respect and confidence of millions in these countries. That this confidence has been won is shown by the fact that the Communist Parties in France and Czechoslovakia are the strongest political parties, and that in every country in Europe which suffered under fascism the Communist Parties are playing an outstanding part in political life. We are confident that they will build a new Europe from the ashes of the old, a Europe that will march to Socialism. We are confident also that the German Communist Party, of whom so many thousands have perished in Dachau and Buchenwald, will play its honourable part in the difficult task of purging Germany of the economic, political and moral roots of fascism, laying the basis for a new democratic Germany.

It is a Communist understanding, discipline and political training which has enabled the Soviet Union, in less than thirty years, to emerge from a backward, illiterate, agricultural country, to a country of free and happy people and one of the two greatest powers in the world. The Soviet Union has been able to save mankind from Hitlerism, and to emerge from that fearful ordeal stronger and more united than before. The Soviet Union is the living example of what the common people can build, once they are freed from the fetters of capitalism, of the tremendous energy and creative power that Socialism can unleash in the "little man," the nameless millions who never get the chance in our society to show what they can do.

We here, by our activity, leadership, personal and collective efforts, must build up a great mass Communist Party. We are confident that the forces of democracy and Socialism are in the ascendent, and that the British Labour movement as a whole has the power to solve all the problems of peace in the interests of the common people, that it can rally to its support all the progressive sections of the nation. The Communist Party, in leading the struggle for a happy and prosperous Britain, is assured that this will still further strengthen workers' democracy and the mass movement for Socialism.



## REPLY TO DISCUSSION

By HARRY POLLITT

I have to say, on behalf of the Executive Committee, how much we valued both the pre-Congress discussion and the discussion that has taken place at this Congress, because it represents a collective effort at hammering out the correct policy for our Party in a most difficult and complicated situation.

We deliberately kept out of *World News and Views* for six weeks any contributions by Executive Committee members to Congress Discussion, because we did not want to give any appearance of attempting to damp down the discussion or, to use that much abused word in our Party circles, "give comrades a bashing."

Something has been said here, both in the contributions and in the amendments, about more democratic methods of procedure. Due note will be taken of that fact; but this Congress is being publicly reported, and I state the claim right now that the Communist Party is the most democratically run political organisation in the world. Its proceedings are fully reported both to the District Secretaries of our Party as a whole and in Reporting Back meetings in the Districts to the active circle of comrades in those particular areas.

Through the leads given in the *Daily Worker*, the Weekly Letters and the Political Letters, our ears may not be quite on the ground, but they are a lot lower than is the case of the other Parties. But we pledge that we will do whatever is possible to try to make further improvements on this.

On this question of Browder, I only want to make one or two points. When the Communist International was dissolved in 1942, we were all unanimously in support of that decision because of the political maturity of every section of the Communist Party. No one knew in this country anything about Foster's disagreement with Browder until the appearance of the Duclos article. That is a statement of fact. We expressed our disagreement with Browder's line and, in my opinion, correctly at that moment and in that situation. The American comrades were in profound disagreement with the policy of our Party. We refused to publish Browder's book in this country because we disagreed with its contents and the American comrades were made aware of that.

If you consider that it is Communist leadership, that we should tip you all off about circumstances of that description in the most difficult stages of winning the war against fascism, so far as I am concerned you have another think coming.

Browder's policy was endorsed in January, 1944. It was not criticised until April, 1945, by Comrade Duclos of the French Communist Party. And it may well be that the Party with a million members will have its views listened to with more respect than a Party of 50,000.

And finally, to those of you who are so worried about this problem, I must draw your attention to the fact that I have not yet seen any criticism of the Browder policy in any of the theoretical organs of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—not an unimportant Party of the world!

Comrade McIlhone said yesterday that there are more ways of winning the peace than one. Absolutely true. And there are still more ways of losing it, and we have heard some of those ways expounded from this platform this morning. It is the thought of being anxious to avoid losing the peace that is dominating the thought of every Communist Party in Europe at this moment and explains why stronger Communist Parties than ours are fighting for a continuation of the National Front and avoiding splits in the Labour movement. It explains how they are seeking to utilise every differentiation in the ranks of the capitalist class; explains too, something else, why they are not ashamed to proclaim their pride in being French or Yugoslav and stand out as the champions of the best traditions of these countries, although we sometimes have so many hesitations of saying we are British, and make formulations about Bevin having led this country into disgrace.

It is that thought of winning the peace and not losing it, therefore, that needs now to dominate the thoughts of our Party. Especially those who so light-heartedly talk about strikes on the one hand, or exaggerate the influence of this Party on the other. And, comrades, when they expect criticism, let it be self-criticism. Comrade Bill Rowe said that our error disarmed the Communist Party and prevented it from assuming leadership at a critical period in the history of this country. If that is true, it is peculiar that not a single Branch in the Party noticed it. You were fighting for a correct political line of ending Tory domination, and you did it, and ought to be proud of it.

Please remember that we did consult the Party membership on the change of line; 7,850 members voted for the policy that was suggested by the Executive Committee, 278 were against it, and 556 were absentions. I looked over the reports of the Party discussion last night, and it was astonishing to find revealed how many of the 278 and 556 who abstained did so because they were opposed to the Communist Party reducing the number of its candidates in the General Election, and not to the policy of a Coalition Government after the General Election.

After the Paris Insurrection in the 1870s, Marx, who had some doubts about its wisdom, was the first to justify what he described as the historic initiative of the masses. What we ought to be triumphantly extolling, is not certain minor weaknesses, but the tremendous historical initiative of the masses. We are Marxists, comrades, and not magicians.

There is a basic reason why we were wrong in our estimation of the left swing in the Labour movement. And I believe I can give it to you in two minutes. It is not unrelated to the point legitimately made about ears being closer to the ground. I believe we failed to grasp this fact: that in the course of this war, which was brought to the doorsteps and homes of millions of people, in the air-raid shelters and in the cellars, in tubes and fire-watching parties, the working class, the professional and middle classes were quietly thinking to themselves, saying a word neither to their husbands, or wives, sons or brothers—but thinking to themselves. They were thinking, in our lifetime capitalism has only brought us poverty and unemployment, and now it has brought us this war. And on the other hand, they were thinking also of the miracles being performed by a Socialist country through its Red Army, in the fight to make this war the last war. That was what caused a basic political mental change in the outlook of millions and led them to take that historical initiative of which we had not taken due cognisance.

Comrades McIlhone and McEwen expressed certain dangers in their contributions that we need to guard against: first, an over-estimation of the disillusionment with the Labour Government; and secondly, seeing foreign policy as the only thing that the Labour Government is doing. And from it Bob McIlhone drew certain conclusions, or rather he didn't draw them but they drew themselves, which are not justified by events.

Nobody would be happier than I if I thought the influence of this Party was as great as McIlhone makes it out to be. But I refuse to deduce wrong policies as a result of a wrong estimation of the forces going to carry the policies through.

Look at the by-elections taking place. Are they revealing a disillusionment with the Labour Government on home and foreign policy? Of course they are not. The political instinct of the masses is too sound. Never again is it going to be driven into Tory reactionary channels by the reactionary policy of one or other of the Labour leaders.

Don't let us forget that the people of this country see nationalisation of the coal industry and the Bank of England and the reduction in income tax, as well as Greece and Indonesia, and we are making a great mistake if we don't grasp this.

Comrades complained that in the Political Letter of August 28, 1945, we did not go all out against the Labour Government on the grounds of its foreign policy.

Comrades, the Labour Government only came to power in the last days of July. Bevin made his speech in August. We made a formulation in that Political Letter regarding that speech, and it reads like this: "Mr. Bevin's speech does not correspond to what the masses voted for at the General Election. The fight against Tory reaction needs to be conducted on foreign policy no less than on home policy; otherwise the programme for full employment and social advance will be placed in jeopardy by a wrong foreign policy." I will defend that formulation in the circumstances under which it was written, anywhere and at any time.

Are we never going to learn? I have been in too many campaigns which had as their main motive *against*, and not sufficient with the main motive *for*, and comrades, especially the younger comrades, in this Congress would be well advised to assimilate that experience too.

Everything is not black in the realm of foreign affairs, despite what Bevin is attempting to do, because there are bigger things in England and other countries than Ernest Bevin.

The situation in Greece begins to change for the better. Bevin begins to squeal now that he is being let down. He is going to do a lot more squealing in the future, not because of wrong slogans, but because of the growth of the mass movement. The Greek situation is changing for the better because of the amazing strength of the Communist Party there, and because of the support this Party in this country is giving to the Communist Party of Greece.

Comrades must understand that one of our most vital duties is to avoid isolating ourselves from this movement. There is nothing easier in the world than to call people names. We have paid a heavy price as a result of it in the past and we must be prepared to avoid these political mistakes in the future. Our job is to develop a mass movement, not on the basis of one isolated aspect of a situation but on the basis of a constructive line as outlined in the Executive Committee report, given on this platform yesterday.

Comrades, please remember this fundamental fact: The working class have built up something in the course of this struggle against fascism that capitalism is never going to be able to destroy. I repeat the words I quoted at the 1944 Congress, the words of George Dimitrov in 1935:

"Fascism, which appears as the result of the decline of capitalism, in the long run acts as a factor of its further disintegration. Thus fascism,

which has undertaken to bury Marxism, the revolutionary movement of the working class, is, as a result of the dialectics of life and the class struggle, itself leading to the further development of those forces which are bound to serve as its grave-diggers, the grave-diggers of capitalism."

That is the historic process which is now taking place, intensified before our very eyes.

Our main fight, therefore, comrades, is not against the Labour Government, not against Bevin—our main fight is against capitalism and against the ideas of capitalists, ideas of particular members of the Labour movement and the Labour Government who are influenced by capitalism.

We also need to avoid the danger, because of an error in March, of intensifying the error as a result of a wrong understanding of the situation. What do I mean by this? Just this. You will regret a policy that does not take into account the fact that the capitalist class is not one reactionary mass. In other words, it is still part of the policy of the Labour movement of this country to seek for allies where it can find them. Our job is to know how to increase this differentiation.

I would like to read a quotation from a letter from Frederick Engels to Kautsky, which Kautsky suppressed and which did not become available till 1925, although written in 1891. Kautsky was criticising the German democratic party as being "one reactionary mass." Engels criticised this, and went on, to say that this formulation was

"False, because it expresses an historic tendency, genuine in itself, as an accomplished fact. . . .

"We have no right to represent a tendency, which is gradually being realised, as a fact already accomplished, and all the less so since in England, for example, this tendency will never be fulfilled as an absolute fact. When the upheaval comes here the bourgeoisie will still be ready for all sorts of partial reforms. Except that to cling on to the partial reform of a system already overthrown becomes sheer nonsense."

I am mentioning this because it is necessary to state here that there are important circles of capitalists in this country who are profoundly disturbed at the policy of the Labour Government in relation to the U.S.S.R. They see that while this country is becoming the home of anti-Soviet intrigue, the U.S.A. is getting all the trade orders from the U.S.S.R. We shall see how this pressure begins to exert itself, but it is part of our job to fan it, to intensify it.

On the question of industrial disputes, comrades, you must face the issue, as we presented it in the Report. We have nothing further to say in relation to this matter.



I am going to face you with the direct issue and I do not propose you shall get away with anything. You are either in favour of the line of the Report, or of the line that has been expounded here of mass strikes as the only way to realise the workers' demands. If the latter, I warn you, you are playing with fire that can help to lose the peace and reduce this country to ashes.

Nothing is easier in the present situation than strikes, and our comrades should be much more guarded. We should be ready to pay tribute to comrades like Scott and Horner and Hannington, who in their difficult and responsible positions are having to fight for the full utilisation of the machinery. You can get a strike in the coalfields tomorrow, if you want it. Will it advance the working-class movement of this country, or the perspective of our nation being a first-rate nation in the family of united nations? Do not make any analogies with the United States: the economic system and basis are entirely different.

On the dock strike, I took the view that if our Party had been compelled to stick its head out in difficult situations in the war and compel our comrades to be stigmatised as strike-breakers, we are not called upon to repeat that in the days of peace, but we would examine every dispute on its merits. The *Daily Worker* reported the facts. It is true we gave no lead for ten days, but that is no crime, because we considered that strike ill-advised. We knew the doubtful forces which were at work—not the Trotskyists, but the provocative tactics of the employers and the inter-union rivalry. We are concerned with reaping the harvest of our own work, and I pay my tribute to our docker comrades who fought last summer to get the Charter now before the employers, to become the official charter of the T. & G.W.U. If some of our comrades were in difficulties on the docksides, well, Communists are always in difficulties and we have to be prepared to face them and to stand up against them.

Let this Congress be clear. Our line was to advise the dockers to go back to work, to call for the intervention of the Government, a speed-up in the hearing of the case, the democratisation of the Dockers' Section of the T. & G.W.U., and for the recognition of the dockers' shop stewards as the A.E.U. recognise their shop stewards. It was a positive line and it needs fighting for; and because, comrades get chased in fighting for it—all right—it is not the first time and it won't be the last.

Do not be under any illusions. Supposing our Party had come out and supported the dockers' strike, would that have been enough? When this Party goes into action, it goes into action; and if it had been supporting the dockers' strike it would have had to call for sympathetic strike action of all transport workers



for an extension of that strike. Would that have done the dockers any good? We deny it.

On the plea that the £4 10s. is too low, I put it frankly to this Congress: I ask any trade union official here to deny what I now say, that if we could get that £4 10s. minimum it would be a blessing and a godsend to millions of workers, railwaymen, shipbuilders, agricultural workers, etc. Comrades, you can make it £5 or £10: demands and programmes are important, but what is more important still is the mobilisation of the working class to achieve their demands. The working class is a sensible class, and it has never organised to fight for what it conceives to be impossible.

My last word is this, in relation to building our Party, I want to sweep away all the alibis.

You can talk about objective and subjective factors as long as you like. You can talk about under-estimations and over-estimations as long as you like. But the fundamental reason why our Party does not grow is that you comrades do not want it to grow! That is the reason! The Party wants to be a narrow Party, it wants to be a Party of exclusive Marxists. It resents hundreds and thousands of new members coming into the Party. Yes, I apply this test to all of you. It is not how many members the other fellow makes for the Party: it is how many members you personally are making, all of us here. It is the welcome we extend to the comrades when they are in our ranks. I tell you, you have a policy provided in the report that will enable our Party to stand out as the champion of the British people, and of Britain, and put us on the political map.

## STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE STATEMENT

*In view of the publicity given to a statement by Comrade Rust in relation to Mr. Bevin, the Standing Orders Committee asked Comrade Pollitt to make the following statement on the official policy of the Communist Party:—*

The attitude of the Communist Party to the Labour Government and its policy at home and abroad is that laid down in the Political Report, and the Congress Resolution which has been unanimously adopted by this Congress.

The phrase used by Comrade Rust was not an expression of the views of the Executive Committee.

In particular reference to foreign policy, the Political Report adopted by Congress declared the following:

“We warn the Labour movement that unless it compels the Government to completely change its present foreign policy which is simply the continuation of the imperialist line of the Tory Party and the reactionary monopoly capitalists that there can be no fundamental social progress in Britain, and that the whole future of this country is in grave peril.”

The Communist Party is, therefore, pledged to work for fundamental changes in the policy of the Labour movement, brought about by the pressure and determination of the Labour movement as a whole.

## FRATERNAL DELEGATES

**Austria,** Hans Winterberg

**Ceylon,** Dr. Wickermasinghe

**China,** Ten Fa

**Cuba,** Flavio Bravo

**Czechoslovakia,** Lieben

**France,** Marcel Cachin and

G. Cogniot

**Germany,** W. Koenen

**Holland,** P. de Groot

**India,** Mirajkar

**Ireland,** W. McCullough

**Norway,** K. Kviberg

**Poland,** Miss Zofia Jaworska

**Spain,** S. Martorell

**Syria and Lebanon**

Nicolas Chaoui

## GREETINGS TO CONGRESS

Messages of greeting to the 18th National Congress were received from: the Communist Parties of Australia, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, New Zealand, Palestine, United States of America, Yugoslavia; the Labour-Progressive Party of Canada; the United Socialist Party of Iceland; and also from Fritz Dahlem, Mrs Elsie Mann and Ivor Montagu.

## ROLL OF HONOUR

The delegates stood in honour of the memory of comrades in the Forces, Merchant Navy and on the Home Front, who had been killed by enemy action during the war. The following is a list of those of whom the Executive Committee has been notified.

AARONS, George, Paddington.  
ADAMS, Bill, Sgt. Air Gunner, Littlehampton.  
ADAMS, C. R., Major (Italy, 1944), Oxford  
AGATE, Stan, Civil Defence, London, 1944.  
AIKEN, Paratrooper (Arnhem, 1944).  
AIRLIE, John, Ft./Sgt., (Italy, 1944), Govan Y.C.L.  
ALEXANDRIDES, Michael (London, 1944), Cypriot.  
ALRIGHT, Bert, War Reserve Policeman (London, 1944), Bethnal Green.  
ANDERSON, FRED, Private (Normandy), E. Newcastle.  
ANSELL, A., Pilot (Germany, 1942), Tottenham.  
ANSELL, Harry, Ft./Sgt. (Holland), Tottenham.  
ARCHER, Charles, Radio Operator, M.N. (1941), N. Kensington.  
ARTHUR, Derek, Cpl., R.A.C. (Normandy, 1944), Sheffield.  
ARUNDALE, Len, Gunner (Malta), Stepney.  
BAILEY, Bert, Trooper (Italy, 1944), Sheffield.  
BAILEY, H. H. (Italy, 1943), Chiswick.  
BANKS, Les, War Worker (Factory, 1944), Gillingham.  
BARKER, Aubrey A., Lieutenant (Holland, 1944), London student.  
BARKER, W., Colchester.  
BARNES, M. D., Sub-Lieutenant, Huddersfield.  
BAXTER, Tom, Bethnal Green.  
BENJAMIN, Jack, Private (London, 1944), Bethnal Green.  
BERMAN, Beryl (Scotland, 1943), Leeds.  
BIRD, Geoff (Arnhem), Harrow Weald.  
BLOOMFIELD, Mick, R.A.F. Sgt. (1943), Stepney.  
BOND, Tom, Sgt., Garndiffaith.  
BOON, Edward, R. Tank Corps (Anzio, 1944), Liverpool.  
BOSS, Kenneth, Capt. (1945), Luton.  
BROOKS, Roy, Sgt. (N. Africa, 1942), Bristol Y.C.L.  
BREWSTER, Pete, R. Marines (Antwerp, 1944), Wembley.  
BURLAY, Alan.  
BRAHAM, Michael, Private, Stepney.  
BRANSON, Clive, Tr. Sgt. (Burma, 1944), Battersea.  
BRATTMAN, John, Private (Burma, 1944), Stepney.  
BREED, Arthur, Cpl. (Burma, 1944), Romford.  
BYRNE, John, Private (D-Day, France, 1944), Govanhill.  
CANNON, Henry, R.A. Anti-Tank (Merry Alost), Wood Green Y.C.L.  
CAVILL, Edward, Sgt. Gunner, R.A.F. (Essen, 1943), Hull.  
CARTRIDGE, J. A., P./Officer (Essen, 1943), Dudley.  
CHANOVITCH, B., Bethnal Green.  
CHILLINGWORTH, Bert, L./Cpl. (Italy, 1944), Hornsey.  
CHAPMAN, A. D., A.B., Harrow.  
CHIPCHASE, K., R.A.F. Aircrew (Bomb.), Harrowgate.  
CLARKSON, Alastair, Airborne Div. Lt. (Arnhem, 1944), Edinburgh students.  
CLEMENTS, John A., Ft./Sgt. (Germany, 1945), Southall.

CORRY, Bert, Merchant Navy (Battle Atlantic, 1942), Manchester.  
 COCKREN, Len, Ft./Sgt. (Mediterranean, 1944), Smithfield.  
 COHEN, Ellis, R.N. (Crete, 1941), Exchange (Manchester).  
 CORBETT, Danny, S. Southwark.  
 COSHALL, Arthur.  
 CRAKE, G. G., R.A.F., E. Grinstead.  
 CREE, Hugh, Stoker (1941), Govanhill.  
 CROSSLAND, Vincent, Bevin Boy (Lofthouse Colliery), Wakefield.  
 CROWE, R. Ft./Sgt. (Berlin), Dundee.  
 CUMMINGS, Hamilton, Paisley.  
 DAVENPORT, Sgt., R.A.F. (Germany, 1945), London (?).  
 DAVIES, R., Sgt., Maesteg.  
 DAVIES, R., Wireless Op. Sgt., R.A.F. (Denmark), Wandsworth Y.C.L.  
 DAVIS, Dick, R.A.F., Streatham Y.C.L.  
 DE BARR, F., Sgt., Chelmsford.  
 DICK, Hugh, R.A.F. Navigator (Duisburg), Shoreditch.  
 DEWEY, Dick (France, 1945), Nottingham.  
 DONALD, William, R.A. (San Marino), Newcastle.  
 DONOVAN, Clarence, R. Navy, Treherbert.  
 DRAPER, Len, Signalman, R.N., Southgate Y.C.L.  
 DUFF, Alan, Lt., R.A.C. (Germany, 1944), Cambridge student.  
 DUFFY, John, M.N. (1941), Buckhaven.  
 EDMEADES, S., A.B., R. Navy (English Channel, 1943), Gravesend.  
 ELLIOTT, Jack, Buxton.  
 ELLIOTT, John, Private (Germany, 1945), Gorton.  
 ELLIOTT, K., Ft./Sgt. (Italy, 1942), Wakefield.  
 EVANS, Ron, Ft./Sgt. (Tobruk, 1942), Romford.  
 EYESACKERS, E.C., A.R.F. (1940), Holborn.  
 FELDMAN, Les (P.O.W., Germany, 1944), Leeds.  
 FERGUSON, Walter, Ft./Sgt., Glasgow.  
 FIDGETT, N., Barkingside.  
 FINCH, C., West Ham.  
 FINK, Sidney, Civil Defence (London), Finsbury.  
 FISHER, David (India, 1942), Broxburn.  
 FORSHAW, H., Flying Officer, Rochdale.  
 FOX, Jack, R.A.P.C., Tredegar.  
 FRANCIS, David (India), Finsbury.  
 GALLACHER, John, Acting Ft./Lt. (1944).  
 GALLACHER, P. D., 2nd Lieut. (France, 1944).  
 GARBETT, Adam, Private (Tobruk, 1942), Dundee.  
 GEORGE, Leslie, Private (N. Africa), Sussex.  
 GILBERT, R., Private, Twickenham.  
 GIRLING, J., Ipswich.  
 GLASS, Alwyn, Guardsman, Neath.  
 GOLDMAN, Harry, R. Navy (Ship sunk D-Day), Leeds.  
 GOLDSTEIN, L., Fusilier (Sicily, 1943), Ilford.  
 GOLDTHORPE, Ken, Ft./Officer (Europe, 1945), Wembley.  
 GORHAM, R., Private, Battersea Y.C.L.  
 GRAHAM, N., Carlisle.  
 GRANT, Alec, Sgt. (France, 1944), Brechin.  
 GREAVETT, Robert, L./Bdr. (Libya, 1941), Worthing.

GROCOCK, Harry, R. Navy, Birmingham.  
GROSS, Herbert (Italy, 1944), Stepney.  
GORDON, Robert. Coatbridge.  
GOLLAN, R., Edinburgh.  
GOLLAN, W., Sgt., Edinburgh.  
GUNNER, Ernest, Sgt., Acton.

HALSE, W., Lieut. (D-Day, 1944), Oxford student.  
HARBART, Sidney, Paratrooper (Normandy, 1944), Stepney.  
HAYDN-JONES, Horace, Private (Italy), Rhondda.  
HAYES, W. D. C. M., Sgt., Chelmsford.  
HEAD, Oliver, Private (Salerno, 1944), Southall.  
HINKS, Joe (Jap Prisoner of War, died in captivity in Sumatra).  
HOLE, Mervyn, R.A.F. Sgt. (1944), Deal.  
HOWIE, Neil, Aberdeen.  
HOYLAND, Denys, Lieut.<sup>1</sup> (Italy, 1944), Roehampton.  
HUGHES, Mervyn, Oxford.  
HUTCHINS, Graham, R.A.F., Tredegar.

JEFFERSON, R., Signaller (Germany, 1944), Burnley.  
JOFFE, W. (1944), Hackney.  
JOHNSTONE, Andy, Private, Glasgow.  
JONES, H. L., Private, Porth.

KAHLE, J., R.A.F. (Crete, 1944), Harrogate.  
KAY, Philip, Sgt./Pilot, Soho, Westminster.  
KAYE, Morry, Cpl., R.A.F. (Missing 1944), Stepney.  
KEIGHLEY, Jack, Tpr. (Falaise Gap, 1944), Bridlington/Dulwich.  
KELLY, A.B. (1944), Chiswick.  
KIBBEY (Burma, 1944), West Ham.  
KING, Jack, Ldg. Seaman, Leyton.  
KNIGHT, F., Private (Sollum, June, 1942), Openshaw.  
KOMINSKY, M., Private, Stepney.

LANG, Tommy, Airdrie.  
LAWTON, John, R.A.M.C. (Italy), Student.  
LAWTON, J., Captain (Doctor), (France, 1944), Highgate.  
LAZARUS, L., Bethnal Green.  
LEONDIEU, George (London, 1944), Cypriot.  
LERNER, Nat, Hackney.  
LEWIS, Dave, Leeds.  
LONGLEY, Edward, R. Signals (India, 1945), Portsmouth.  
LORD, William, Officer, R.A.F. (1945), London student.

MACGUIRE, T., Sgt. Paratrooper (1943), Greenock.  
MCKENZIE, Harry, M.N. Gunner, Aberdeen.  
MCKENZIE, Kenneth, Gunner (London, 1943), Dundee.  
MCKINNER, Alex, L./Sgt. (Garglianne, 1944), Kilmarnock.  
McLOUGHLIN (Missing, Singapore), Pollokshaws.  
MARTIN, George, Private (Italy, 1943), Felling.  
MEAD, W. E., Cpl., Southwark.  
MEREDAY, James, West Ham.  
MICHAEL, Simon (London, 1944), Cypriot.  
MILLICHAMP, Dennis, Sgt. Pilot (Over Europe, 1944), Nottingham Y.C.L.

MILLS, George, Private (Tunis), Tottenham.  
MILLS, Harold V., Trooper (Italy), Dorchester.  
MIRANDA, Lew (D-Day, 1944), Central Hackney.  
MOISEWITCH, Danny, R.A. (Anzio, 1944), Hackney Y.C.L.  
MOLE, Wilfred, Private (Italy, 1944), Kettering.  
MOLLEKIN, H. R., Driver-Operator, K.R.R.C. (Italy, 1944), N. Kensington.  
MORGAN, Glyn, Gunner, Cross Hands.  
MORRELL, S., Sgt. (Battle of Britain), Sheffield.  
MORTON, D., Trooper (Holland, 1945), Wakefield.  
MOSS, Sid (London), Bethnal Green.  
MUSAPHIA, Joe, Stepney.

NAGLEY, Sid (Holland), Leeds.  
NAHUMRAM (1942), Cambridge Student.  
NAPLEY, Sid, Private (B.L.A., 1945), Leeds.  
NICHOLSON, Mobile Bdg. Worker (London, 1944).  
NILEN, P. N., Sub-Lieut., R.N., Wood Green.  
NORTON, John, King's Lynn.

OSBORNE, E., Flying Officer (1944).

PICKLES, S., Sgt., Manchester.  
PLACKETT (1944), Northampton.  
PLATER, Jack, Driver, R.A.S.C. (November, 1944), Potters Bar.  
POLLOK, James, Lieut., Springburn.  
POWER, Bill (France, 1944), Romford.  
PRAGNELL, R. F., Driver (Arnhem, 1944), Salisbury.  
PUDDIFOOT, Fred, R.A.F., Stepney.

QUEEN, J., L./Cpl. (N.W. Europe theatre, 1944), Falkirk Y.C.L.

RASBERRY, Edie, King's Lynn.  
REED, Alex, Private, Springburn.  
REED, D., Lieut. (N. Africa, 1943), Lincoln.  
REISSMAN, Bernard, Private (Italy, 1943), Stepney Y.C.L.  
ROBSON, H., Private, Maidstone.  
ROILLY, Jock, Stowmarket.  
ROSENBERG, Harry, S. Hackney.  
ROSENFELD, Monty, Cpl. (Italy, 1944), Manchester.  
ROSS, Arthur, Paratrooper, Hounslow.  
ROWE, William, R. Navy, Bognor.  
RUBENS, Albert, Private (Africa, 1941), Leeds.

SARSON, Gerald, Ft./Sgt., Ilford.  
SAYER, T., Private (Italy, 1944), Chatham.  
SCROGGIE, Edward (London, 1944), Islington.  
SCROGGIE, Lucy (London, 1944), Islington.  
SEGAL, Stan, Private (1941), Islington.  
SELBY, Fred, Sgt., Richmond.  
SHALKS, Charles, R.A.O.C., Tees-side.  
SILKMAN, Humphrey, Private, Stepney.  
SISLEY, Sgt. Bomb Aimer (June, 1944), Islington E.  
SLINGSBY, Ben, Private (Italy, 1944), Burnt Oak.  
SMITH, Alex (London, 1944), St. Pancras.



SMITH, Harry, Sgt. Pilot (November, 1943), Gloucester.  
 SMITH, Henry, Westminster.  
 SOLOMON, M., R.A.F. (Over Germany, 1945), Coventry.  
 STEIN, Albert, Tank Corps (Italy, 1944), Holborn.  
 STEMP, Ron, Pilot Officer, Penge.  
 STERMAN, Ben, S. Southwark.  
 STAPLEY, Ernest E., Sgt. Rear Gunner (June, 1944), Hornsey.  
 SUMMERS, J. (London, 1944), Hammersmith.  
 SYMONDS, John (D-Day, 1944), Oxford student.  
  
 TAYLOR, Cecil, Private (Anzio, 1944), Nottingham.  
 TEMPERLEY, Harry, M. Navy, Stanley.  
 THOMAS, H. J. (February, 1944), Rhondda.  
 THOMPSON, Frank, Major (Bulgaria, 1944), Oxford student.  
 TODD, John, Paratrooper, Hamilton.  
 TRIBE, N., L./Cpl. (El Alamein, 1942), Maidstone.  
 TURNER, Reg, King's Lynn.  
  
 VALLER, Bill (Italy, 1943), Chiswick.  
  
 WAIN, J. B., Driver (Normandy, 1944).  
 WALLACE, M., Student.  
 WATERS, E. W., Lieut. (Anzio, 1944), Dorking.  
 WATT, James, Private (Normandy, 1944), Dundee.  
 WARD, Jack (1943), Mitcham.  
 WATSON, Jack, F./Officer (1944), Hornsey.  
 WATSON, P., R.A.F. Air Crew.  
 WEBSTER, Frank, B.L.A., Leicester.  
 WHITEHEAD, Capt. (Tunisia), Hull.  
 WHEELER, John, F./Lieut. (England, 1945), Hampstead.  
 WILLCOCK, Tony, F./Officer (France, 1945), Cambridge student.  
 WILLIAMS, Douglas, Treherbert.  
 WILLIAMS, Rev. D. L. (1944), Chiswick.  
  
 ZAMANI, Bert, Finsbury.  
 ZENTMAN, Private, Soho, Westminster.  
 ZIMMERMAN (D-Day, 1944), Leeds Y.C.L.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S REPORT TO CONGRESS

The section of the Executive Committee's Report (page 14) headed *The Science Committee*, was referred back by Congress for further consideration of the organisation and work of Party scientists.

### CREDENTIALS REPORT

NUMBER OF DELEGATES—FULL RIGHTS .. .. . 789

#### REPRESENTING

429 Branches  
108 Borough/Branch Committees (London)  
12 District Committees

#### COMPOSITION

Male .. .. .	608	Female .. .. .	181
			<u>789</u>

#### AGE GROUPS—AVERAGE AGE 34

Up to 20 years .. .. .	14	Up to 40 years .. .. .	326
" 25 " .. .. .	127	" 50 " .. .. .	143
" 30 " .. .. .	136	Over 50 " .. .. .	43
			<u>789</u>

#### OCCUPATIONS

Transport and Docks .. .. .	53	Clothing and Textiles .. .. .	21
Mining .. .. .	57	Agriculture .. .. .	11
Building, etc... .. .	54	Press and Printing .. .. .	10
Engineers .. .. .	212	Clerical .. .. .	57
Distributive .. .. .	17	Housewives .. .. .	60
Professional .. .. .	80	Miscellaneous .. .. .	86
Full-time Party and T.U. .. .. .	52	Unemployed .. .. .	19
			<u>789</u>

#### MEMBERSHIP OF PARTY

Up to 1 year .. .. .	123	Up to 10 years .. .. .	123
" 2 years .. .. .	69	" 15 " .. .. .	64
" 3 " .. .. .	100	" 20 " .. .. .	20
" 4 " .. .. .	82	Over 20 " .. .. .	27
" 7 " .. .. .	181		<u>789</u>

#### TRADE UNIONS

T. & G.W.U... .. .	78	C.A.W.U., N.A.L.G.O. and	
N.U.G.M.W. .. .. .	34	Clerical Unions .. .. .	60
A.E.U., E.T.U. Engineering		N.U.M., etc... .. .	58
and Allied .. .. .	188	N.U.D.A.W., S.A.V. and	
N.U.R., A.S.L.E.F. and		Distributive .. .. .	24
Transport Unions... .. .	40	N.U.A.W. Agriculture .. .. .	10
A.U.B.T.W., A.S.W. and		NATSOPA, N.U.J., Printing	
Building Unions .. .. .	39	and Press .. .. .	14
N.U.T., A.Sc.W. and Pro-		N.A.F.T.A., N.U.B.S.O.,	
fessional Unions .. .. .	74	Clothing and Textiles .. .. .	18
		Miscellaneous .. .. .	42
		Delegates in Unions .. .. .	<u>679</u>

MEMBERS OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES .. .. . 625

## THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The following were elected to the new Executive Committee:

S. Abbott	J. Gollan
G. Allison	W. Hannington
Kathleen Beauchamp	Esther Henrotte
S. Blackwell	Arthur Horner
E. Bramley	John Horner
Isabel Brown	P. Kerrigan
Elinor Burns	Joan McMichael
Emile Burns	G. Matthews
J. R. Campbell	I. Montagu
G. Carritt	A. F. Papworth
I. Cox	P. Piratin
P. Devine	H. Pollitt
R. P. Dutt	Tamara Rust
W. Gallacher	W. Rust
G. C. T. Giles	J. Scott

## METHOD OF ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

On a recommendation from the Standing Orders Committee of the Congress, it was agreed to establish a Commission consisting of one representative from each District, plus five from the new Executive Committee. The District representatives to be appointed at the first District meeting following the Congress. The terms of reference of the Commission to be: to consider and report to the Executive Committee within six months on the method of election of the Executive Committee at future Congresses.

The Executive Committee, after considering the Commission's report to submit its proposals to the branches for approval and operation at the next Party Congress.

NOTE.—This resolution was adopted and resolutions Nos. 1-8 sent in by branches to the Congress, dealing with the method of electing the Executive Committee, were referred to the Commission.

## STATUTORY DATES FOR CONGRESSES

In connection with various resolutions which had been before the Standing Orders Committee on the Party Congress, the following statutory dates were adopted:

An Annual National Congress shall take place during the last week of February.

Annual District Congresses shall take place at the end of November.

Annual Branch Meetings shall take place in January.

## APPEALS COMMITTEE

The following were elected:

J. Cunnick.	J. Shields.
G. Hardy.	H. Stevens.
R. W. Robson.	R. Stewart.
D. Ross	

## AUDITORS

L. S. Dunstan and W. Holmes were elected as Auditors.

# 17. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1944.

INCOME				EXPENDITURE			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward	..	..	3,845 6 0	Central Office Expenses—			
Membership—				Rent, Rates, Taxes, Gas and Electricity	£1,593 14 0		
Cards and Dues Stamps	..	..	10,186 9 1	Furniture, Equipment and Repairs	533 18 10		
Contributions to General Funds—				Stationery	1,104 12 6		
Weekly Quotas to Centre raised by Districts and Branches by regular guarantees—to Sept. 30	£7,099	0 2		Postage, Telegrams, Cables, etc.	1,590 9 9		
Centre Proportion of £50,000 Fund, Oct. 1, to Dec. 31	10,118	7 6		Wages	11,353 18 7		
Donations	1,304	5 6		Library, Newspapers, Periodicals and other Reference Material	602 13 3		
				Miscellaneous Office Exs., Cleaning, &c.	581 2 5		
Sales of Literature, Campaign & Organisation Material	18,521	13 2		Committee Expenses—			
Bank Interest, less charges	108	6 5		Executive Committee and other National Committee Meetings and Conferences	..	..	2,364 1 6
Surplus of Receipts over payments on National Congress	185	1 8		Subscriptions and Donations	..	..	550 0 0
				Printing—			
				Literature, Campaign and Organisation Material	..	..	13,222 14 9
				Propaganda Campaigns—			
				Advertising Publicity, Exhibitions, Demonstrations, Material and Expenses	..	..	4,715 4 8
				Education—			
				Including Hire of Halls and Rooms, Grants to District Schools and Travelling	..	..	785 2 1
				Press Office—			
				Subscriptions, Newspapers, Blocks, etc.	..	..	724 2 9
				Travelling and Other Departmental Charges	..	..	2,613 11 4
				Expenses, Printing, etc., in Connection with £50,000 Appeal	..	..	616 1 9
				Balance—			
				Election Fund	..	..	1,833 16 6
				Carried Forward to 1945	..	..	4,249 11 6
							6,083 8 0
							£49,094 16 2

We have examined the above Income and Expenditure Account, and certify that it is correct.

21st September, 1945. WALTER HOLMES, }  
G. CRANE, }  
Auditors.

## CLOSING SPEECH TO CONGRESS

By *HARRY POLLITT*

We come to the close of what, in my opinion, has been the best, most representative and most political Congress we have ever held.

I am sure that Comrade Cachin will not have failed to note the splendid difference between this Congress and the Manchester Congress he attended in 1924.

However, I think that now our Party has grown to such importance in the political life of the country, our next Congress will have to be organised differently, and that it must be a five-day Congress, giving more time and opportunity for discussion and formulation of policy.

We now aim to make the future Congresses of the Communist Party as equally outstanding and important in the life of this country as those of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress.

The average age and industrial composition of the Congress prove that we have a Party which, armed with the decisions of the Congress, is equipped to achieve tremendous advances for the working class and the nation.

We have endorsed resolutions on Home and Foreign policy, that if carried out can create a new and splendid future for our country. We have understood our obligations to the Colonial peoples, and have adopted a number of important decisions on urgent political issues of our day.

We are at the beginning of a new gigantic period in the Labour movement of this country, and I ask the comrades to read carefully the Report presented on behalf of the Executive Committee in order to grasp firmly the strategical and tactical lines laid down. We will judge each event on the political and industrial fields as it arises and make our decisions accordingly. But I commend to every delegate the deepest study of the points made by our Comrade Arthur Horner in his magnificent contribution to our Congress this morning. Some of our young comrades are thinking of the experiences in the last war and immediately after. We will always defend the workers' right to strike, and emphatically I repeat, we will judge each situation on its merits. But remember, it is sometimes easier to lead strikes than to win them.

We have paid particular attention to two questions, which are indispensable for the successful carrying through of our policy. First, the need for an enormous extension of Marxist education and self-study. Second, the strengthening and building of the Communist Party.

Your new Executive Committee has to face tremendous responsibilities to the Party. It calls for your complete confidence in us to do the job. It needs all the help and assistance you can give. At the same time I give you this pledge: that it will keep every District and Branch fully informed of its decisions, with adequate and full explanations as to why these decisions have been reached.

You comrades, too, have serious responsibilities. You have been elected to represent your comrades at the most important event in the life of a Communist Party—the Party Congress. Upon how you report the Congress, set the example in popularising its decisions, making them understood, winning conviction for them, depends how quickly in the factories, trade unions, Co-operative movement and localities, we lever the great British Labour movement into action.

We are now in a new period of world history, one pregnant with tremendous possibilities. We have just emerged from six years of ghastly war. It is not easy to make swift adjustments in thought and action, or to forget the old and see the new.

I thought many times during the war how much easier the work would be when peace was won. But life doesn't work out that way, and for Communists, with our make-up and our mental outlook, there are never any easy times, either before or after the revolutionary conquest of power has been carried through. There are always new fields to conquer and new battles to be won. We Communists are always on the march.

Yet at all times we need to make sure that the line of march is correct. That is why there is new and urgent need to study Marxism-Leninism. Inevitably during the war there was a falling off in study, reading and thinking in every Communist Party in the world. That is why just now the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is making such extraordinary efforts to intensify the study of Marxism-Leninism. But if it is considered necessary there, it is even more necessary in Britain, where the working class, led by the Communist Party, has still to win power.

In our studies, however, it is not enough to read or learn by heart and then mechanically quote, without thinking of what is new, and what relation the quotation has to the given situation. The test of our study and thinking over the basic principles of Marxism, is how far and how quickly it helps us in present conditions to grasp the next link in the chain, as the result of the stimulus to political thought and action that should spring from this study.

May I say how glad we are to note so many comrades present as delegates from the professions. They can play a great role in strengthening the alliance between the working class and sections of the middle and professional classes. We have noted their great vigour and critical approach, and we welcome it.

You have brought into being many new Branches in towns cut off from the great industrial centres. But excuse me if I offer a word of advice. You also must keep your ears close to the ground, especially the ground in the surrounding rural areas, because while you have much to teach the working class, always remember, you have still more to learn from it.

The Press has tried, and will try, to make capital out of our critical discussions and sharp exchanges of opinion. How little they understand that self-criticism always strengthens and never weakens a political party of the type of the Communist Party. I recall how Lenin flayed those who wanted Party Congresses to be Mutual Admiration Gatherings. Allow me to read to you what he said on this point after the London Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1903:—

“I cannot help remembering a conversation of mine at that Congress with one of the ‘Centre’ delegates: ‘What a depressing atmosphere prevails at our Congress,’ he complained to me. ‘All this fierce fighting, this agitation, one against the other; these sharp polemics; this uncomradely attitude.’ ‘What a fine thing our Congress is,’ I replied to him. ‘Opportunities for open fighting. Opinions expressed; tendencies revealed. Groups defined. Forward—That’s what I like. That’s life’.”

*(Lenin; One Step Forward, Two Steps Back.)*



And our Congress, too, has developed new life and new great opportunities for our Party, if only we will it to be so and know how to use them.

Build the Communist Party; pride in the Communist Party, as reflected in our personal and collective winning of new members.

Comrades, the most moving experience in my life, was when I stood before Lenin's open grave in 1924 and heard Joseph Stalin say these words:

"There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader is Comrade Lenin."

Even if I did not then grasp the full significance of that proud phrase because of youth and inexperience, I soon did believe it, and believe it now more passionately than ever before.

I call on you to do the same now, and prove it in deeds by winning thousands of new people—not "one hundred per centers," but the sympathisers as well; those who will work, and those who will pay and who feel they cannot do more.

People are people. We have to understand this, to learn from them as well as teach them, to try and make more sustained efforts to find what comrades can and want to do.

Especially do I hope that we shall see in our recruiting that special attention is given to winning the young men and women of this country for Communism. The average age of 34-36 years at this Congress is a splendid and inspiring thing. You have the ball at your feet and you will be able to shoot with the speed and accuracy that even the Russian Dynamos might envy when once you yourselves are filled with an assurance of your own power and your own strength. Especially win young people and let us all pledge ourselves to do much more to help build up the Young Communist League and a mass sale for its splendid paper, *Challenge*.

We can be proud so many Communist Parties have honoured us and made us feel our responsibilities to the world so keenly by sending so many fraternal delegates and messages.

We can be glad that in London, where Marx and Engels wrote "Workers of the World, Unite!" the presence of our comrades has still further strengthened the bonds of international solidarity, and I am sure the international effects of this great Congress will also make themselves felt. For just as international unity has been established on the industrial field in the World Federation of Trade Unions, so now we must work to secure international political unity as well.

Here in your name we salute Dolores Pasionaria, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, who on December 9th will celebrate her fiftieth birthday and her twenty-five years' membership of the Communist Party.

So, Good Luck, comrades!

We now go to it on the basis of a policy that can bring peace and happiness to the British people and freedom to other peoples as well as to ourselves. Our class is not terrified by atomic energy. Our class is going to conquer and use its inexhaustible resources to lighten our labour for man, woman and child, and bring into their lives greater adventure and greater happiness. In the realisation of these aims we shall be in line with the best traditions of our movement and our country, and enable the working class to go forward to working-class democracy and Socialism.

# RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY CONGRESS

## POLITICAL RESOLUTION

### Proposed by the Executive Committee

The Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party, meeting after the military defeat of fascism and Labour's election victory, declares that the working people of Britain can only safeguard their victories by a determined struggle to complete the moral and political defeat of fascism, and to carry through Labour's full programme at home against the resistance of the land-owners, bankers and monopolists.

The electoral defeat of Toryism and return of a Labour Government, pledged to a programme of far-reaching social and economic reforms, has demonstrated the will of the British people to end once and for all the dominance of the old reactionary ruling class, build lasting peace and go forward to a new social order. New anti-fascist democratic governments have come to power in Europe. The Communist Parties in all countries are greatly increased in strength, and in many cases the basis is being laid for a united Party of the working class. The triumphant achievement of the first Socialist State, the Soviet Union, in war as in peace, has given inspiration to the peoples, and its influence is a powerful factor on the side of peace and democratic advance. The formation of the World Trade Union Federation, sixty millions strong, expresses the increased strength of organisation, solidarity and consciousness of common purpose of the world working class. In Asia and Africa the Colonial peoples are pressing forward their demand for full freedom and better conditions of life. All over the world the peoples are demanding that victory over fascism shall be followed by lasting peace, the fulfilment of democracy, the ending of poverty and insecurity, and the use of the great productive resources and modern technique for the benefit of all. The goal of Socialism is inspiring millions as never before.

On the other hand, although fascism has been defeated in the military field, its social and political destruction has to be completed. Already the old reactionary forces are at work to undermine the victory, to weaken the unity of the democratic nations, to spread anti-Soviet intrigues, to rebuild reaction in Germany and Europe, as in Japan and Asia, and thus prepare the way for a third world war. The imperialist rivalries of the monopoly capitalists threaten the task of international reconstruction, and press towards a new era of intensified world economic conflict and crisis. Entrenched monopoly in Britain resists social and economic change, and demands lowered standards of the working people in order to promote its aims of trade war. The changed world economic position of Britain and the backwardness of technique and equipment, consequent on years of neglect and decay, require radical measures of reconstruction. Within the Labour movement unity has still to be achieved; and the dangerous influence of reformism, which opposes unity and surrenders to capitalist policies, requires to be overcome. Hence it is necessary to warn against

any illusions that either the military victory over fascism abroad or the electoral victory over Toryism at home has already solved the main problems and opens out a straight and easy road to the final victory of Socialism.

The period before us will be one of deepening social and political struggles, which will require new and intensified effort of the working class and all progressive sections of the people, and throw special responsibility on the political leadership by the Communist Party.

Congress endorses the Political Report presented on behalf of the Executive Committee by Comrade Pollitt, and pledges the activity of the Party in the coming year for the fulfilment of the aims set out in the Report.

Expressing its full confidence in the Labour movement's readiness to fight for these aims, Congress declares that they can only be won if the movement insists on its declared policy being carried out loyally by the Government.

It calls attention particularly to the wrong foreign policy of the Government, which, in relation to Greece and Spain, in its hostility to the Soviet Union and the new Peoples' Governments in Europe, as well as in its attitude to the Colonial peoples, is continuing Tory policy, weakening the unity of the Three Great Powers, holding back the forward movement of the people, and endangering peace and economic co-operation between the nations.

In calling the Labour movement's attention to this situation, Congress declares that it will be a disaster for the British people if, owing to the reformist and anti-democratic tendencies of some of the leading members of the Government, the present foreign policy is continued. This is why it is essential for the Labour movement, while fully supporting the Government against the Tories and helping it in every way to carry out Labour's programme, also openly to criticise and oppose policies which are against the best interests of the working class.

Congress therefore pledges its efforts, in common with the large and growing section of the Labour movement which has already shown its concern over the reactionary foreign policy being pursued, to secure a reversal of this policy.

In accordance with these aims, Congress sets out the following decisive immediate objectives before the working class and people of this country for the coming period:

### **HOME POLICY**

1. Fulfilment of the Labour Party electoral programme, and full support of the Labour Government for the fulfilment of this programme, including nationalisation of coal and power, transport, and iron and steel; a vigorous housing programme; and extension of health, education and social services.

2. Speeding up of demobilisation; and limitation of the armed forces to the level necessary for the occupation of Germany and Japan and fulfilment of international obligations under the peace treaties.

3. Planned conversion of industry from war to peace, through the operation of the control of supplies, prices, investment and location of

industry, so as to ensure full use of resources, including fullest agricultural development, and maximum production of peace-time goods; and Government initiative in promoting large-scale schemes for the modernisation and re-equipment of the main industries.

4. All-round increase of wages, to bring the rates of real wages up to the level of the increase in productivity; minimum wages of £4 10s.; equal pay for men and women; reduction of hours to 40 per week; guaranteed week, and fortnight's holiday with pay.

5. Raising of social standards through the extension of social services and increase of the rates of benefit, including increases of family allowances.

6. Extension of democracy through democratic electoral reform, reform of local government, and closest association of the trade unions and co-operative movement with the Government's reconstruction programme.

## **FOREIGN POLICY**

1. The ending of the present deadlock. Firm co-operation of Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States in the leadership of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace; maintenance and strengthening of the British-Soviet Alliance.

2. Fulfilment of the Crimea, Moscow and Berlin Agreements for the destruction of fascism; prevention of new German aggression, and strengthening of democracy in Europe.

3. Full support for the new democratic anti-fascist Governments in Europe, and withdrawal of support from reactionary near-fascist and pro-fascist regimes, as in Greece, Spain and Portugal.

4. Democratic settlement in the Far East on the basis of destruction of Japanese fascism and imperialism, and support for representative democratic governments in China and in the liberated countries of South-East Asia; no use of British forces to re-impose the imperialist system of colonial subjection on the nations of South-East Asia.

5. Recognition of the right of the Indian people to independence and to determine their own future through a sovereign Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage.

6. Promotion of international economic co-operation through ratification of the Bretton Woods agreement, and participation in joint schemes for assistance in reconstruction and planned productive development throughout the world.

## **LABOUR MOVEMENT**

1. Unity of the political Labour movement through close co-operation of the Labour Party and the Communist Party, electoral agreement, and affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party.

2. Strengthening of the trade union and co-operative movement and 100 per cent payment of the political levy.

3. Improvement of democratic machinery in the trade union movement, removal of all disruptive bans and discriminations, and equal democratic rights for all trade unionists paying the political levy to participate in the political Labour movement.

## **Resolution on THE TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE ECONOMY**

### **Proposed by the Executive Committee**

The success of the Labour Government in grappling with the problems of Britain's economic situation after the war and the change over from war to peace will require a positive economic programme for planned productive development, full employment, raising social standards and promoting large-scale schemes for international economic development.

It will be necessary to resist the reactionary offensive which seeks to exploit the difficulties of the present economic position in order to put through policies for lowering real wages and social standards and cutting down programmes for social reform. This type of proposed solution would only lead to the same disastrous consequences as after the last war.

The positive economic programme for which the Labour movement will need to fight in the change-over from war to peace will require, besides the nationalisation of key industries, retention of the controls over investments, raw materials and prices, drastic reorganisation and technical re-equipment of the main industries, planned location of industry, and active participation in international economic reconstruction through assisting the development of productive resources in the backward areas of the world.

It will also involve carrying out in conjunction with the trade unions a positive policy on wages, prices and production. This policy must include higher wages, equal pay for equal work, and the reduction of hours to 40 per week.

### **Conversion Problems**

The swift achievement of Labour's programme is only possible on the basis of the speediest possible demobilisation of the armed forces and the most rapid reconversion of industry to peacetime purposes. A dilatory release of man-power involves a slowing down of any successful transition from war to peace economy.

While there is not likely to be any lack of demand for either consumers' or capital goods, active steps will be necessary to prevent pools of unemployment developing during the transition. These could arise through:—

Lack of foreign produced raw material for our industries, due to our foreign trade difficulties.



Insufficient peace-time factories in the former depressed areas.

Obstruction of private enterprise by capitalists—

1. their refusal to undertake essential production;
2. perpetuation of monopolist practices;
3. obstructing entry of labour into civilian industries by paying starvation wages;
- 4. provoking strikes.

Lack of jobs in certain areas while industry is being re-tooled.

Pre-war jobs in certain less essential occupations not available for certain groups of workers.

### **What To Do**

It is necessary for the State to give peace-time industry a stimulus by placing orders for—

All kinds of building material and equipment to be subsequently sold to municipalities.

Textile goods for the foreign trade.

Material for Colonial Development Schemes.

It could also bring the great industries requiring re-equipment and replacement—coal, cotton, wool, transport and electrical supply—into closer co-operation with the engineering industry, so that orders can be placed on a priority basis with the minimum of delay.

The Government, in conjunction with the nationalised Bank of England, and utilising the machinery of control of investment, will need to play an active part in promoting the fullest modernisation and technical re-equipment of the main industries.

The State can attack monopoly practices, not only by perfecting its price controls (basing the prices fixed on the costs of the efficient firms) but by using Government factories to compete with private enterprise (as is proposed in relation to the production of housing parts) and by giving preference to non-ring firms in the location of industry and by other means.

### **Foreign Trade and Materials**

Essential to the speedy overcoming of the foreign trade difficulties is the rapid modernisation of the country's equipment and the maintenance of full employment. The higher the efficiency of industry, the greater the possibility of the country



finding a ready market for its products abroad. At the present moment, the Government is negotiating with the United States Administration for a measure of economic assistance. It is essential for the British Government, while pursuing these negotiations, to embark on a series of measures which will contribute to the solution of Britain's foreign trade problem, while paving the way for a wider economic co-operation between all countries.

These measures should include:—

The increase of home production to take the place of goods formerly imported from abroad. This can best take place through a further expansion of agriculture and by the development of British manufacture of goods hitherto imported.

The conclusion of commercial and financial agreements with overseas countries for the mutual expansion of trade. Special attention should be paid to agreements with the Soviet Union and the new democratic countries of Europe.

The increase of Britain's export trade, in which most of the main manufacturing industries, and not merely those classified as export industries, should be called upon to play their part.

Immediate ratification of the Bretton Woods plans for the International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Promotion of schemes, either through the International Bank, or through inter-governmental agreements, for the participation of British industry in assisting the development of the productive resources in countries with a low level of technical development. This will require a radical change in the colonial system.

### **Wage Policy**

A smooth change-over will be facilitated if the Government has a co-ordinated policy on wages, prices and production and explains it to the people.

This policy must be based on the principle that there can be no freezing of wages and that improved conditions and increased production must go together.

We urge a minimum wage of £4 10s.; equal pay and opportunity for women; guaranteed week; an annual fortnight's holiday with pay and payment for all statutory holidays; and reduction of hours to 40 per week with no reduction in pay.

The Government should directly assist the unions in the lower paid consumers' industries, with a view to securing such improvements in wages and conditions as will attract labour to those industries. Special regard must be paid to improving the position of the low paid women workers.

In conjunction with the unions, it should review the negotiation and arbitration machinery. Arbitration machinery should be set up on a local and regional basis, in order to ensure the speedier handling of local grievances.

### **Price Control**

Attempts on the part of the employers to undermine the price controls will grow in the transition period and can best be met by making the control machinery more effective and extending its range.

It is particularly necessary to continue the food subsidies and even to increase them as rationed supplies increase.

The extension of the utility principle and a closer control of prices and standards is particularly necessary in the textile, clothing and furniture industries.

Price control is menaced by the growing disparity between controlled and uncontrolled prices and the time has come to extend control to all goods and services where profiteering is evident.

### **Location of Industries**

The formation of stagnant pools of unemployment in the former depressed areas can best be overcome by the Government speeding up the location of new industries in those areas. It must use its controls over finance and materials and acquire other powers if necessary, in order to compel industry to settle in those areas.

It must ensure that the industry is of such a character as to employ all available labour, i.e., the settlement of certain types of light industry usually operated by women is not sufficient for areas in which there is a lack of jobs for male labour.

### **Temporary Unemployment**

Workers who are rendered temporarily unemployed should be given a basic wage until a new job becomes available.

Those whose peace-time job is not immediately available should be encouraged to take a temporary job at trade union

rates and should be given first preference when their trade or industry opens up again.

The various industrial training schemes must be speeded up to train the demobilised, or workers who want to equip themselves for a better job than pre-war.

### **The Trade Unions and the Government**

The close co-operation of the Government with the trade unions will be essential for the success of its economic policy.

The unions must help the government to carry out its policy on every level, from the workshop to the Regional Boards. The unions must be prepared to offer the most concrete assistance to the new Working Parties in the consumers' goods industries, helping them with positive suggestions.

In particular the Government and unions should work together to strengthen the workshop organisations and to secure their fullest co-operation in the transition from war to peace. The close co-ordination of the shop stewards, factory committees, and other negotiating bodies of the first instance with the production and efficiency committees is of the highest importance.

The wartime gains of the workers—the guaranteed week and the right of appeal against dismissals—must be continued in new forms when the Essential Work Order expires.

### **The Government and the People**

Labour's policy cannot be carried out by Government administration alone. It demands the co-operation of workers and technicians in every industry. It involves a fight against backward and sabotaging employers—a fight which must be fought out in every factory, pit and building site.

Only the closest co-operation between the Government and the people, above all between the Government and the Trades Unions (of manual workers, administrative workers and technicians), the Co-operative Societies, and the Associations of Scientists, can secure a smooth transition from war to peace and a full implementation of Labour's programme.

### **Resolution on MARXIST EDUCATION**

#### **Proposed by the Executive Committee**

The present political situation in Britain demands the widest extension of Marxist education—that is, of education in the theory of scientific socialism, on the basis of the teachings of

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and embodying the experience of the international working-class movement and the results of modern scientific research.

The strength and vitality of Marxist-Leninist theory have been borne out by the whole course of modern history, and especially by the experience of the world war of liberation against fascism.

It is only by means of the principles and methods of Marxism that we can understand and solve the difficult problems of modern social and political development.

The interest of the people in social, economic and political matters, the desire for knowledge and discussion of affairs, is outstanding. Millions previously untouched have been drawn to the organised working-class movement. The example of the Soviet Union, both in its peaceful triumphs of socialist construction, and in the foremost part it has played during the war, has been the chief among many factors that have aroused a new interest in Marxism. Many members of the Labour movement are dissatisfied with the traditional reformist outlook and are seeking new policies. For the first time wide masses of workers, as well as professional people, eagerly desire knowledge about Marxism and the Marxist point of view.

It is the job of the Communist Party to carry forward the task of Marxist education, and to introduce Marxist ideas and methods into the Labour movement.

But the pressure of capitalist theory is strongly felt. In every sphere of policy, national and international, sharp questions arise, and the battle for the future of Britain is reflected in the conflict of ideas. The most intensive campaign is being conducted by the organs of capitalist propaganda to confuse public opinion and to secure the adoption of policies contrary to the interests of the working class.

Because the Labour movement in this country lacks a clear theoretical basis, this propaganda finds its reflection within the Labour movement. And in the present period of great social and political changes, when the masses of the people are seeking to move forward to the goal of Socialism, it is especially important to combat the illusions and harmful theories of Social Democracy.

Hence it is essential that the active fighters of the Labour movement should be equipped with a clear understanding of the fundamentals of Marxist theory in order to assist in solving the problems before them and to combat and defeat the manoeuvres of the workers' enemies.

The Rules of the Communist Party provide that "Members, with the assistance of the Party, shall strive to improve their political knowledge and understanding of Marxist theory, to equip themselves to take an active and helpful part in the working-class movement, and win support for the aims and policy of the Party."

This Congress calls the attention of all Party Committees and members to the importance of paying systematic attention to the carrying out of this Rule.

The basis for growing understanding of Marxist theory must always be self-study of the Marxist classics. It is therefore necessary to ensure that the classics are available to all Party members, and that material is issued designed as an introduction to the study of the classics and bringing them to bear on current problems.

Steps must also be taken to encourage the publication of more Marxist studies of British history, institutions and political, economic and social conditions. And Party members working in the various fields of natural science, history and the social sciences, philosophy and art, should put forward and develop the Marxist approach to these subjects, and carry on polemics especially against all current idealistic presentations.

The content of our Marxist educational work must combine the study of Marxist theory, the accumulated experience of the working-class struggle, with the application of this theory to the problems and controversies of the struggle today.

In order, then, to help and strengthen the self-study and individual work of Party members, the Executive Committee is instructed to build up organised educational activities throughout the Party.

For this purpose full plans for courses of elementary and advanced Marxist education should be worked out, to cover all the main aspects of Marxist teaching; and syllabuses and textbooks should be issued in due order so that classes can be organised to ensure members to cover the whole course in a specified time. Correspondence courses should also be made available on the same subjects.

It is necessary to ensure:—

- (1) That classes and lectures are organised at frequent intervals by every Branch of the Party;
- (2) That schools are organised by our District Committees, including day and week-end schools.



- (3) That the number of National Schools is increased, drawing into them more workers from industry, women, and comrades demobilised from the forces; with a view to the earliest possible organisation of a continuous National School.

It is necessary also to ensure the regular publication of study outlines, syllabuses and text books for both individual and class study, and to organise correspondence courses.

The Communist Party, however, cannot be content with improving the Marxist understanding of its own members. It is essential also to carry Marxism into the whole Labour movement, as the only way to combat the penetration of capitalist ideas and strengthen the movement's confidence and determination. Marx House has done valuable pioneering work for Marxist education, especially through its Educational Commentaries and Syllabuses and mass lectures, but it has lacked any wider educational machinery for organic contact with the general body of the organised Labour movement.

The broader forms of working-class educational organisation and activity, as they have so far developed through the National Council of Labour Colleges, the Co-operative Education Committees, the Workers' Education Association and the W.E.T.U.C., as well as more recently the separate educational schemes of particular unions, still reach in the aggregate only the fringes of the Labour movement. The entire range of working-class educational organisation and activity is weakened by sectional divisions and rivalries, notably the long-standing feud between the N.C.L.C. and the W.E.A. An even more serious weakness is that the content and standard of teaching vary considerably, is only over a small extent influenced by Marxism, and is in some cases anti-Marxist in character.

The time is ripe for a new initiative to strengthen and extend the entire field of working-class education, to work for closer co-operation and unity between the various organisations engaged in this field, and to extend the influence of Marxism throughout the field of working-class education.

It must be the responsibility of the Communist Party to participate in and assist in every way the broad development of working-class education, and to strengthen the work of those who are striving to give it a Marxist content. It is the duty of Party members therefore to:—

- (1) Strengthen and extend all existing forms of working-class educational organisation and activity by direct participa-



tion, and assisting in the promotion of classes, provision of tutors, etc.;

- (2) Participate actively in the democratic control of these organisations and their work through the trade union, co-operative and other bodies on the basis of which these organisations are built up and governed, and to stimulate interest of the trade union branches, district committees and executives and co-operative societies in the educational field;
- (3) Strive to ensure that the spirit and influence of Marxist teaching is continuously extended throughout these educational organisations, in their classes and syllabuses, and to combat direct anti-Marxist teaching;
- (4) Work for closer co-operation of all forms of working-class educational organisation and activity, with the aim to build up, with the support of the entire Labour movement, a broad united and democratically controlled working-class educational movement, within which Marxism will be able to exercise an increasing influence and eventually win its rightful place as the recognised theory of the working-class educational movement.

Congress, recognising that both the present struggles of the working class and its future victory in the fight against capitalism and for a socialist Britain depend on the whole movement being inspired with the consistent class outlook of Marxism, pledges the Party to carry out the practical tasks outlined in the Resolution and to fight increasingly against capitalist and social-democratic ideas which are constantly undermining the strength and confidence of the working class.

## **Resolution on PARTY ORGANISATION**

### **Proposed by the Executive Committee**

This Congress endorses the general line of the Memorandum on Party Organisation issued by the Executive Committee in March after full discussion and endorsement by our Branches and District Committees.

It calls attention to fact that this Memorandum was produced after an examination of Party organisation throughout the country, in which certain major problems were revealed. These showed themselves most acutely in the decline in the life and activity of our factory groups and branches, and in the fact that although annually since 1942 we had been able to recruit several thousand members, we had not been able to register any net increase in membership because of the fluctuation and loss of membership which each year's card exchange revealed.

This Congress recognises that the ending of the war in Europe, the General Election, the defeat of Japan, the large-scale industrial adjustments, particularly in the war industry, and the Municipal Elections, have all had a retarding effect on the successful operation of these decisions. Moreover, out of experience gained since the Memorandum was issued, it is necessary to place particular emphasis on certain weaknesses which need a special effort if they are to be overcome.

Congress calls for a very great strengthening in our industrial work, and immediate systematic attention by all responsible Party committees to the election of Factory Committees in every job and factory, pit, mill, rail centre and transport depot where we have members. Every effort must be made to free our most capable industrial comrades for undertaking work on these Factory Committees, and where necessary such comrades should be allowed to become members of the branch where they work.

These Factory Committees have the duty of organising monthly meetings of the members employed in their enterprises and encouraging all possible forms of Communist work.

We ask for attention to the serious weakness in our organisation caused through the frequent changes in our Branch Secretaries and Committee members. We call for a determined drive to ensure that some of our most experienced and able comrades are available for staffing the Branch Committees. We warn against the tendency to operate mechanically the proposal to divide large Branches when there are not sufficient capable comrades to staff the new Branch Committees.

We demand a new appreciation in the Party of the Branch and Branch Committees, recognising that we can only get the great increase in public campaigning at present so urgent if we greatly improve the character of our Branch leaderships. We want to see more responsibility and initiative and authority on the part of our Party Branches to make their own decisions on local affairs, in such a way as to develop the application of our general policy.

We emphasise the responsibility of Branch Committees for continuously maintaining contact with and increasing their knowledge of the Branch membership. We believe that the fluctuation and loss of membership already mentioned arises not from hostility or lack of sympathy for our policy, but mainly from the fact that thousands of members do not easily find a place in our organisation into which they can fit. We call on the Party to eradicate any conceptions that still exist which are opposed to the building of a mass Party. We place the utmost importance on the organisation of an efficient system of dues collectors and call upon all our branches to fight the idea sometimes expressed

that such work is a waste of valuable time. On the contrary, we make special mention of the splendid work done by conscientious dues collectors.

We call attention to the section of the Memorandum dealing with the approach to Party members, and aimed at embracing forms of political activity which carry us far beyond those sections of people influenced by us in the past. We stress the fact that increased activity from our members does not arise by order nor by directive, but by example, personal conviction and increased Marxist understanding.

There is need to ask all our Party Committees to pay particular attention to the views of their members, particularly encouraging all possible initiative and the development of Communist work by every member amongst those people with whom they are naturally in contact.

Finally, we summarise again the Party structure:—

- (i) The Party Branch as the basic unit of the Party, with Factory Committees, and in the larger Branches, Ward or other Groups.
- (ii) City or Borough Committees, where necessary.
- (iii) Area Committees, where necessary.
- (iv) District Committees.
- (v) Executive Committee.

Congress warns against the tendency to see further organisational changes as a solution to existing problems. What is now needed is the operation of the Organisation Commission's report in full, so that the organisational changes are accompanied by closer attention to work in industry, closer contact between Branch Committees and members, and the encouragement of initiative in carrying out our policy in every sphere of activity. At the same time, Congress recognises the need, on the basis of our experience over the past period, to consider further some outstanding problems of Party organisation which need more detailed consideration. The most important of these is the character and method of leadership by Party leading committees from Executive to Branch.

To examine those questions further, this Congress proposes that the new Executive Committee should appoint a Commission with terms of reference to include the character and methods of leadership by Party leading committees from the Executive Committee to the Branch, the financial work of the Party, preparations and conduct of the Party Congress, and other matters referred to it by the Executive Committee from this Party Congress. This Commission to report to the Executive Committee, and the Executive Committee to submit findings to the membership.

## **Resolution on DEMobilISATION**

### **Proposed by the Executive Committee**

We are proud and glad to welcome back the men and women who are now returning from the Forces to their homes and families and to their colleagues and friends in the factories, fields and mines.

While we recognise that forces will still be required as occupation troops in Germany and Japan until fascism has been completely destroyed, we must express our deep concern at the present slow rate of demobilisation. At the same time Congress repudiates the line of Mr. Churchill and his Tory colleagues who try to turn the justified feeling of dissatisfaction into an assault on the Labour Government.

We believe that the principal reasons for the slow rate of demobilisation are the dangerous and wrong foreign policy of the Government and the slowness in carrying through a comprehensive plan for the reconversion of industry to the needs of peace. These are the main reasons why the Government has proposed the indefensible high figure of 2½ million men still to be under arms in June, 1946. This figure must be cut drastically to the minimum necessary for fulfilment of our international obligations, limiting occupation forces in Germany and Japan and their reinforcements.

By adopting a friendly attitude to the newly-emerging democratic Governments in Europe, by agreeing to the just demands for self-government of the people of India, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya and Indo-China, where British troops are being used against the interests of the peoples of those countries and the British people, the rate of repatriation and demobilisation could be immeasurably speeded up.

We believe that the trade union movement should be ready to accept the soldier tradesman as worthy to join his craft comrades in industry, and that with the assistance of Resettlement Committees, which should be set up in the factories under the guidance of the shop stewards, men and women from the Services will readily find their place in industry and in the trade union movement, and will not be left as pawns to be used by the employers against their working-class colleagues in industry.

But demobilisation, however fast, must still be fair as between man and man. We are firmly convinced that the age-plus-service principle must be strictly adhered to. We are concerned at the disparity in the rates of release as between the Services and as between trades within the Services. While we understand that regrouping and retraining of certain technicians and tradesmen may lead to some slight disparities, we are not satisfied that the present holding back of groups and trades is necessary. This holding back tends to defeat the purpose of the age-plus-service principle.

Together with the demand for a drastic revision of the Government's estimate, we call for an immediate review of all service establishments, so that the Service Chiefs and office-holders should not hold on to one single man or woman whose services cannot be genuinely and usefully employed on military duties, and not as unpaid industrial auxiliaries or as strike breakers.

We also call on the Government to remove the financial and other penalties on the Class B releases, so that, by the removal of these barriers, encouragement will be given to the skilled personnel in the Forces to accept such release and speedily play a part in the reconstruction of Britain.

While awaiting demobilisation, men and women in the Services should be given better opportunities to prepare for civilian life by improved facilities for technical and trade training, and should be freed from the petty indignities and stupidities of ,blanco-ing, primary training and unnecessary fatigues.

We protest at the treatment which our men are meeting abroad, especially in the Far East, whilst awaiting shipping for demobilisation and repatriation. Some of the transit camps have not adequate accommodation and the food and sanitary arrangements are not good. We demand that these matters should be remedied at once.

We consider that present gratuities are inadequate and should be increased, and that all ranks should receive equal gratuities, and that payment of same should be speeded up; we would also urge that the present clothing allowance to women on demobilisation should be increased to £25.

We protest that the rates of pensions payable to disabled ex-Service men and women are grossly inadequate, and we demand that they be immediately increased to 60/- per week for the 100 per cent assessment.

### **Resolution on HOUSING**

This Congress records its support for the Government's principles that the housing needs of working people must be satisfied first and that Local Authorities should be the main house-building agency. It welcomes the promise of legislation giving Local Authorities compulsory powers to acquire land rapidly while negotiations proceed regarding purchase price, and to introduce a Bill during this parliamentary session to deal with Land Prices, Compensation and Betterment, but points out that nationalisation of the land is the best solution of the land problem, including the adoption of a proper national policy of planning. It also welcomes the effort to be made to organise the mass production of building materials.

At the same time it regrets that the Government has so far failed to take the drastic, sweeping and vigorous measures which the critical housing shortage demands, on the lines of policy expressed by the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress.

The provision of the necessary number of new homes in the minimum possible time is not only the Government's primary duty; it is also a central question of the whole national post-war production programme. The speed with which a huge house-building plan is started and carried through will determine the level of production and degree of expansion in a host of other industries.

It is precisely because this Congress is aware of the vast nature of the task and of the legacy of difficulties left by a series of Tory Governments and the war, that it emphasises the ineffectiveness of half-measures, and reaffirms the policy in the Resolution on Housing passed at the 17th Congress of the Communist Party and elaborated in the Communist Party's Housing Memoranda.

Congress therefore calls on the Government:—

1. To adopt the target of four million new homes as the agreed urgent need of the people in town and countryside, and the time limit of five years in which to carry it out.



2. To invite the representatives of the building workers' and technicians' trade unions to participate, as the miners are doing in the coal campaign, in the organisation of a National Housing Campaign. The compulsory establishment upon each building site of Joint Production Committees consisting of representatives of the operatives, employers and technical staff.

3. To set up a Ministry of Housing, organised on the basis of present-day needs and problems, together with a network of Regional Housing Administrations consisting of representatives of all building forces and agencies at Regional level, responsible to the Ministry, and possessing powers to lead the housing campaign in the areas in which they operate, and to make available to Regional Committees supplies of surplus military equipment (lorries, bulldozers, etc.) for the rapid clearance and development of building sites.

4. To secure the necessary whole-hearted co-operation and required numbers of building workers and technicians by supporting the present demand of the building workers for an immediate increase of wages of skilled operatives to 3/- an hour and corresponding increases for labourers, and the abolition of all grades, making one Grade A, the rate for the whole country, with bonuses for production based on a guaranteed 40-hour week, a minimum of two weeks' holiday with pay every year, adequate accommodation for directed workers, improved canteen facilities, etc.

5. To provide loans to Local Authorities at a maximum interest rate of 2 per cent.

6. To organise mass production in Government factories, together with bulk ordering and purchase by the Government from private manufacturers of houses, parts of houses, building materials, components and fittings for sale to Local Authorities; strict control of price and quality, with adequate powers of investigation into the process costs of manufacturers.

7. To meet the problem that the building industry is largely made up of small contractors lacking both the experience and the equipment needed to tackle large-scale building operations, it is necessary to give help to enable the use of the most up-to-date methods and machinery.

Congress therefore welcomes the appointment by the Government of a Scientific Committee to investigate prefabrication and to recommend the most suitable methods as well as the best alternative materials to those in customary use. This work should be speeded up. It is the firm opinion of Congress that traditional forms of building alone will not produce the houses at the rate and speed demanded by the people's needs. At the same time, it is of the opinion that even before these investigations are completed, mass production on a scale far greater than is at present contemplated of a number of partly and completely fabricated house types, conforming to minimum standards of accommodation and construction, should be put in hand without further delay.

In view of the serious dilapidations which have taken place due to age and neglect in many houses, and to the landlords' evasion of their responsibility for keeping them fit for habitation, Local Authorities should be urged by the Minister of Health to use their powers of repairing houses, and of recovering from the landlords the expenses incurred.

In conclusion, this Congress warns the Government that it will be judged not only on the standards of housing it lays down, but also on the speed with which it provides a sufficient number of new houses for the



people. Congress calls on the Labour movement, and in particular on the building workers, to invigorate the Government's policy, so that housing needs are satisfied in the way, and at the rate, and at the rents required to meet the people's urgent needs.

## **Resolution on AFFILIATION**

This Congress confirms the Party's determination to fight for the unity of the Labour movement, and believes that the time is opportune to press for affiliation to the Labour Party as an essential step in this direction. We believe that in the course of the campaign for affiliation the Party should:

Conduct a more vigorous exposition of our Party policy in contrast to the policy of "reforming" capitalism, vigorously support all progressive action of the Labour Government, and expose by outspoken and constructive criticism and action, all reactionary policy at home and abroad.

## **Resolution on AGRICULTURE AND WORK IN THE RURAL AREAS**

Congress reaffirms the lines of agricultural policy set out in the Communist Party's Memorandum on Agriculture. We welcome the statement on agricultural policy recently put forward by the Labour Government, which provides a basis for future development. But we urge upon the Government the necessity of formulating at once a national plan for crops and livestock, aimed at securing a considerable increase over the present level of production.

We draw urgent attention to the fact that the June 4 Agricultural Returns showed an alarming fall in the acreages of crops for direct human consumption, and call for immediate emergency measures to check and reverse this tendency. Such measures must include:—

- (a) An immediate drastic stepping up of the sugar beet and potato acreage targets for 1946.
- (b) A campaign to secure a bigger acreage of wheat for 1946, by encouragement of the sowing of spring wheat, the restoration of the acreage wheat subsidy from £2 to £4 an acre, and some increase in the price of wheat.
- (c) A vigorous campaign for ploughing up further old grassland.
- (d) A vigorous propaganda campaign to explain to the farming community the urgency of the situation.

It is further urgently necessary that the claims of the farm workers for higher wages and better conditions should be met in full. At the present time there is a serious decline in the number of workers employed on the land. And on the basis of the guarantees now made to the farmers, the farm workers also must be guaranteed a decent standard of life. We, therefore, wholeheartedly support the demand of the National Union of Agricultural Workers for a minimum wage of £4 10s. a week. The Women's Land Army, moreover, should be maintained, and better wages, conditions, training and opportunities for promotion be provided, together with the gratuities on the same scale as those in the Women's Services.

Pending nationalisation of the land, urgent steps must be taken by the Government to improve the capital equipment of agriculture. In particular, special aid is needed for small farmers to enable them to become more efficient, including the provision of cheap credits, and the encouragement of farmers' co-operation in the provision and use of machinery, as well as in marketing and the purchase of requirements.

As well as wage increases, a national campaign for the improvement of living conditions and amenities in the villages of Britain is essential. Such a campaign calls for a great mobilisation of the Labour movement to break the hold of the Tories on the County and Rural and Urban District Councils in the rural areas. These remain at present the preserve of the country gentry; and in many cases Council seats have not even been contested by the Labour movement.

Energetic steps must be taken by the Divisional Labour Parties, the co-operatives, the trade unions, and the Communist Party in the rural areas, to find and to agree upon candidates for contesting every seat for these Councils. Members of the Communist Party, the Labour Party, the trade unions and the co-operatives must be brought forward as candidates, and agreement reached in every case as to the most suitable candidate to contest each seat.

In the past, even when the rural elections have been contested by the Labour movement, there has been little election campaigning—no literature, meetings, election addresses, canvassing. Next spring this weakness should be made good by the most energetic campaigning by the whole rural Labour movement. The Communist Party, both locally and nationally, needs to prepare special publications dealing with the rural elections.

One of the main difficulties facing rural workers in contesting these Councils is the time and expense necessary for travel and attending Council meetings and Committees. We press for the payment of full expenses and loss of earnings to Rural and Urban District and County Councillors.

In preparing for these elections, we urge the whole Labour movement to support as the main programme:—

**Rural Housing.**—Speed up the building of new houses to be let at rents rural workers can afford to pay. Abolition of the tied cottage, and all new rural houses to be built in village communities and not in isolated positions. Provision of a piped water supply, sanitation and electricity to all rural houses; and a flat rate to be established for electricity all over the country, ending the abnormally high rates charged in rural areas.

**Education.**—Provision of new school buildings, with the provision of central schools for rural areas, giving the same educational standards as in the towns.

**Health.**—Provision of clinics and improved health services, enlargement of County hospitals, and provision of new hospitals when necessary.

**Culture and Recreation.**—Provision of village halls and community centres, democratically controlled libraries; and playing fields.

**Transport.**—Better transport.

**Finally,** as the indispensable conditions for the development of all this work, Congress calls upon the Executive Committee to give much more attention to Party work in the rural areas, producing special literature, organising campaigns and helping small branches and isolated members to build up a powerful Communist Party organisation in the countryside.

## **Resolution on A NATIONAL PLAN**

The need for a National Economic and Industrial Plan for Great Britain is urgent and paramount.

Whilst welcoming the efforts now being made by the Government to increase efficiency in a number of the most backward industries, we believe the policy of dealing with the question of the location of industry in a piecemeal manner is inadequate. There is also a serious lack of co-ordination between Departments, and, as already recognised by Government spokesmen, an inevitable result of these deficiencies must be that local pockets of unemployment will develop.

Without a National Plan, based upon the fullest democratic consultation between Government Authorities on the one hand and Local Authorities and the elected representatives of both sides of industry on the other, such pockets of unemployment may well lead to the development of new derelict areas.

Congress proposes that the Government should immediately establish a Central Planning Commission with responsibility and powers to prepare and secure the operation of a National Plan, setting out clearly aims and targets and the means for their achievement.

## **Resolution on SHIPPING AND PORTS**

Congress pledges its full support for, and to publicise, the proposals advanced in the International Seafarers' Charter, and deplores the lack of public spirit shown by British shipowners in their attempt to make the discontinuance of War Risk Bonus an excuse for an attack on the wage rates of the merchant seamen.

We pledge our support equally to the efforts now being made by the Dockers' Trade Unions to secure more satisfactory wages and conditions of employment for port workers and to improve methods of port administration.

Realising the vital part played by the shipping industry and the ports in the economic life of Britain, we urge the Government, in view of the attitude shown by the employers, to maintain the existing controls in these industries until such time as comprehensive post-war schemes can be introduced.

Congress also draws attention to the need for our Party branches in all ports to give consistent attention to the problems of seamen and of port workers, so as to assist them in overcoming the difficulties with which they are faced and in their struggles for improved conditions of life and greater security.

## **Resolution on THE B.B.C.**

This Congress expresses its great concern and alarm at the anti-Soviet and anti-democratic bias increasingly shown by the B.B.C. broadcasts and treatment of news during recent months. It draws attention to the serious danger this threatens to the interests of the British people in view of the fact that the B.B.C. is a complete broadcasting monopoly and is not responsible to Parliament for its activities and expressions of opinion,

which are nevertheless regarded abroad as the views and policy of the British Government.

The existing form of B.B.C. Charter enables the B.B.C.'s activities to operate beyond the reach of public criticism and outside the influence of Parliament. We therefore urge that when the B.B.C. Charter comes before Parliament for renewal next year, the B.B.C. shall be made responsible to Parliament through a Cabinet Minister, thus facilitating some degree of British democracy being expressed in the B.B.C.'s treatment of news and opinions.

### **Resolution on ATOMIC ENERGY**

Congress recognises that the discovery of methods of release and utilisation of atomic energy has opened up for mankind tremendous new possibilities in the conquest of natural phenomena, which must be fully and rapidly exploited in the interests of social progress and world peace.

It deplores the attempts now being made to utilise this discovery for narrow reactionary and national purposes. It warns the Governments of Britain and the U.S.A. that such attempts, while foredoomed to failure, are already seriously imperilling that international co-operation which alone can avert the danger of a Third World War.

Congress calls on the newly-elected Executive Committee to launch a nation-wide campaign to demand immediate sharing of the atomic bomb secrets between the Big Three and that the ultimate control of the atom bomb be vested in the Security Council of the United Nations.

### **Resolution on EDUCATION**

This Congress calls upon the Government to expedite the implementation of the Education Act of 1944, by:

Speeding up the entry of trainees into the Emergency Training Scheme, and that facilities be given for mothers of young children to be included into the scheme.

More speedy release of teachers from the forces.

Placing of school building on an equal priority with housing, and for the immediate modernising of existing school buildings.

We regret the action of the Government in postponing school-leaving age of 15 years until 1947, and demand that immediate action be taken to enable school-leaving age to be raised at once.

We consider the terms of the Act can best be fulfilled by the wide use of the Multilateral school, and Congress calls for pressure on the Local Authorities for the provision of Nursery Schools, with proper and adequate equipment and trained staffs.

We consider also that additional financial assistance from the National Exchequer to local Authorities is essential to secure the full and speedy implementation of the Act.

### **Resolution on THE "DAILY WORKER"**

This Congress greets the formation of the People's Press Printing Society Ltd. The splendid response which this Co-operative venture has evoked, indicates the widespread realisation of the need for broadening the base

and increasing the power of the *Daily Worker*, so that it can fulfil its vital role in the crucial period ahead.

The carrying through of Labour's election programme depends in no small measure on the strengthening of the Press favourable to the Government, but vigilant, critical and able to express in the liveliest way the feelings and aspirations of the mass movement.

The prospect of the early publication of the new full size *Daily Worker*, competing in technique and readership appeal with the best that the capitalist press can offer, will be welcomed enthusiastically by all workers and progressive people. The Society offers the trade unions, co-operatives and the working class movement as a whole a great instrument of press power.

Congress calls on the whole Party to carry through a great mass campaign in support of the Society and Paper. It urges every member to become a shareholder, and to press the advantages of Society membership on workmates and friends and in every organisation with which he or she is associated.

It further calls for an immediate effort to increase the present readership and to popularise the plans of the Co-operative Society, so that as soon as the newsprint position allows of the publication of the new paper, the aim of half-a-million circulation can be rapidly realised. It also emphasises the importance of increased support for the paper's Fighting Fund.

The Communist Party, which played so great a part in building up the *Daily Worker*, which inspires pride and confidence among tens of thousands of men and women in all parts of Britain and among our Forces all over the world, pledges its wholehearted support for the further development of this great weapon as a militant organ of the working class movement.

## Resolution on PARTY SPEAKERS AND LITERATURE

This Congress urges the Executive Committee to take steps to ensure that our propaganda reaches wider sections of the people, and in particular:—

- (1) to use National speakers more frequently in the smaller Branches and new areas, which should also have priority in supplies of Party literature.
- (2) to produce a greater variety of short, cheap pamphlets or Specials suitable for door-to-door selling;
- (3) to include among these the following subjects: our Socialist aims, in their application to Britain; the attitude of the Party on important current questions; Building and other industries;
- (4) to see that the method of treatment and style of writing is popular, avoiding jargon and stereotyped phrases, while at the same time making clear our Marxist principles and the special role of our Party.

Congress also considers that Branches should give more encouragement to Book Clubs and the organisation of libraries.



## Resolution on INDIA

The new world situation brought about by the military defeat of German and Japanese fascist-imperialism, in the attainment of which the Indian peoples played a vital part, opens up new perspectives and new possibilities for the Indian peoples.

The newly-elected Labour Government in this country is now faced with fresh opportunities and responsibilities to fulfil its pledges to negotiate the settlement of India's future on the basis of the recognition of India's right to freedom.

This Congress expresses dissatisfaction with the proposals made by Mr. Attlee on behalf of the Labour Government on September 19, 1945, because they do not constitute a decisive step towards such a settlement. Congress declares that it is necessary to break entirely with the policies for India inherited from previous Governments, and in particular to abandon as a basis for negotiation the Cripps offer of 1942.

An essential condition for giving practical effect to Labour's desire to give Indians the right to frame their own democratic constitution lies in the calling of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise.

Unlike the "constitution-making body" proposed by the British Government, the Constituent Assembly must be created by direct election and not through the existing Provincial Assemblies, and it must include democratically-elected representatives from the Indian States, and not nominees of the Princes. Such a Constituent Assembly, being truly a reflection of the national aspirations of the Indian peoples would not only make a practical reality of Indian independence, but would ensure the full fruits of that independence would be enjoyed by the working masses of India and not solely by the privileged vested interests. The Constituent Assembly must, of course, be a sovereign body whose decisions would be unchallengeable by any other authority.

To make possible the calling together of such a Constituent Assembly, Congress urges the Labour Government to arrange immediately for the preparation of electoral lists based on adult franchise for the whole of India, to release without delay all political prisoners, and to withdraw all bans and orders restricting freedom of movement, speech and association.

To deal with the immediate and urgent social and economic problems which are now causing tremendous distress in India, Congress urges that interim representative governments be established in the Provinces to function until the results of the Provincial elections are known; and that immediately after the Central Assembly elections, a responsible Government at the Centre, composed of representatives of the leading political parties and minorities, be set up.

Independence for India will mean India taking her place alongside all those other countries throughout the world which are advancing along the road to freedom and democracy. A subject India will make impossible the achievement of lasting peace, prosperity and happiness in the world. It is in the interests of all peoples, and of the British people in particular, that India should become a free and sovereign country.

The Communist Party pledges itself to do all in its power to ensure the carrying out of this policy.



## Resolution on COLONIES

This Congress welcomes the growth and strengthening of the national liberation movement in the Colonies during wartime. The Colonial peoples played an important and far-reaching part in the war against fascism, sacrificing many of their best sons in the struggle and undergoing serious economic privations. Especially we note with pride the glorious part played by our comrades in Burma, Malaya and the Far East Colonial countries, whose heroic armed resistance to the armies of Japanese occupation, in close collaboration with the Allied Armies, materially helped to bring about the speedy defeat of the Japanese without great loss of lives to the Allied forces.

The wartime experiences of all Colonial peoples have strengthened their confidence in their ability to determine their own future and their conviction of the justness of their demand for the right of self-determination.

This Congress re-affirms its belief in the equality of all peoples, the right of all nations to choose their own form of government and the necessity to end the exploitation of one nation by another. We therefore call upon the Labour Government, in accordance with the traditions of the Labour movement, to extend to all peoples the rights of equality and freedom which were promised in the Atlantic Charter and at Teheran. We call upon the Labour Government to break sharply and decisively with Tory policies of imperialist exploitation, which have impoverished the colonial territories and denied them their elementary civil liberties.

Congress places on record its dissatisfaction at the use of British armed forces in an attempt to suppress the national movements in Indo-China and Indonesia, and at the refusal of the Governor of Burma to recognise the right of the Burmese Resistance Movement to speak for the Burmese people. Further, the constitutional changes now proposed for Colonies such as Nigeria and Ceylon in no way meet with the clearly expressed wishes of the people of those countries.

We ask the Labour Government, therefore, to outline a clear policy for the achievement by the Colonial peoples of equal and free status amongst the nations of the world. And, in addition and as an immediate step:—

- (a) to secure the repeal of all laws restricting freedom of speech, movement and assembly.
- (b) to repeal all laws that discriminate politically or economically against the population, or sections of the population, in the Colonies.
- (c) to work out and immediately put into effect plans for a vast development of all social services in the Colonies.
- (d) To grant every facility and assistance to the Colonial peoples in forming their trade unions and co-operative organisations.
- (e) to draw up, co-ordinate and put into effect plans for the economic and industrial development of the backward colonial economies which will have the effect of stimulating world trade and lessening the threat of unemployment. It is essential that all such industrial development should be controlled by, and in the interest of, the indigenous populations and not for the benefit of foreign combines and monopoly interests.

A great responsibility rests upon the Communist Party to arouse the

Labour movement, by its clear socialist presentation of the colonial issue, to an understanding of the community of interest that exists between the British people and the subject Colonial peoples in the fight against imperialism and for a world in which all nations shall be free and equal.

## **Resolution on INDONESIA**

The Communist Party strongly protests against the use of British and Indian troops in the interests of the great Anglo-Dutch monopoly concerns to re-impose colonial slavery on the peoples of South-East Asia, in defiance of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations Organisation.

We owe a duty to the Armed Forces of Britain in the Far East, who joined up to defeat Japanese fascism and not in order to be used alongside Japanese forces to suppress the struggle of other nations for freedom. Their demobilisation is being prolonged by the Labour Government's policy in South-East Asia.

We owe a duty to those British seamen of the "Moreton Bay," who have helped to save the honour of the British Labour movement by opposing the transport of troops and war materials to Indonesia. It is an action in line with the traditions of the immortal "Jolly George," and is an example to be followed by all British workers who are asked to produce or transport war materials to Indonesia. We demand that neither they nor their dependants shall suffer financial loss or victimisation because of their splendid action.

We demand an immediate cessation of hostilities, and negotiations with the Indonesian Republican Government on the basis of full recognition of the right of the Indonesian people to self-determination and independence.

The Communist Party calls for a reversal of the policy of the Labour Government in Indonesia and Indo-China, and for all Labour and progressive organisations to exert their strongest possible pressure upon the Government to secure this.

## **Resolution on THE JEWISH QUESTION AND PALESTINE**

This Congress solemnly places on record its profound horror at the crimes committed by the fascists against the Jewish people in Germany and the Nazi-occupied countries, and it expresses its deep sympathy to the one-and-a-half million Jewish people of Europe who have survived this horror.

Congress recognises that anti-Semitism, a weapon used by the ruling class to split the progressive forces, can only be conquered by the attainment of true political and economic democracy for all the peoples, including the Jewish communities in each country. It welcomes the steps already taken by the new democratic governments in Eastern Europe, where anti-Semitism has taken deep root, to assist in the resettlement and rebuilding of the Jewish communities, and to outlaw racial discrimination.

Congress urges the Government to seek the immediate outlawing of racial discrimination and communal libel in accordance with the declared

aims of the United Nations to complete the moral and ideological destruction of fascism.

In the meantime, while welcoming the Government statement agreeing to permit the entry into this country of limited categories of refugees, Congress is concerned at the failure adequately to relieve the sufferings of the displaced Jews still in camps in Germany, and is of the opinion that the following steps should be taken immediately to secure the mental and physical rehabilitation of these men and women, and to render them fit to consider and determine their future:—

1. To provide adequate medical aid and relief measures, and to remove all the displaced personnel from the camps to proper houses, if necessary taken over from the present German population.
2. To organise special relief teams under U.N.R.R.A. to include representatives from the countries of origin of these people, and representatives of Jewish relief organisations.
3. To organise in co-operation with all other democratic countries the immediate entry into these countries of those displaced persons in Germany who are unable to return to their homes and wish to come to those countries, and to provide transport facilities.

Congress recognises that the urgent humanitarian needs of the displaced Jewish people call for immediate relief, but expresses its concern at the manner in which the needs of these people have been used by Zionists to obscure the real character of the fight of the Jewish communities throughout the capitalist world for democratic rights in their own countries, and to cover up the Zionist demands for unlimited immigration to Palestine so that a Jewish majority there might create a Jewish State under the protection of British imperialism against the will of the Arab peoples. Congress refutes the Zionist plea that the problems of world Jewry will be solved by the creation of a Jewish State.

Congress is reminded that Britain, to protect its imperialist interests, is concerned to retain the control of Palestine as a strategic centre covering the Middle East and Suez, and while it gave the Jews the Balfour Declaration in contradiction to its pledge to secure Arab independence, British imperialism is primarily interested in neither Jew nor Arab. Palestine today is the cockpit of imperialist rivalry in the Middle East, and the future peaceful development of Palestine cannot be considered apart from the wider questions of the Middle Eastern countries, which must be the concern of the United Nations organisation, and not the preserve of British or Anglo-American interests.

Neither the 1939 White Paper, which was an imperialist device to preserve strategic interests against Nazi influence in the Arab countries, nor Bevin's statement of November 13, 1945, offers any solution to the Arab and Jewish people. Although Bevin's statement resisted Zionist pressure and recognised that the Jewish question must be solved on a world scale, Anglo-American enquiry will not achieve this end.

Congress recognises, however, that as a result of the operation of the Mandate, a community of 600,000 Jews has grown up in Palestine, who, under the protection of the Mandate, have carried out considerable economic development, and have developed their own way of life there, which must be free to develop in peace and in harmony with the Arabs. It must be noted that the Arab masses have not materially benefited by this

development. Arab agriculture has not been developed, but a new landless Arab proletariat has been created. The Arab masses see the Zionists as the cause of their poverty and fear the economic domination of the Jews.

Congress believes that a just and democratic settlement of the problem of Palestine can only be achieved by the abolition of the Mandate and the recognition of the national independence of Palestine under a democratic regime which assures freedom and equal rights to Arabs and Jews. A free and independent Palestine is the only condition in which full Arab-Jewish unity will flourish. This unity will be developed in the joint struggle of the Arab and Jewish people to solve the grave economic problems now facing Palestine, by joint struggle to end the Zionist policy of Jewish exclusiveness in industry and agriculture; by ensuring a more even development of Arab and Jewish industry; by ending the present bureaucratic regime and fighting for democratic elections of local authorities.

Congress welcomes the limited but growing signs of Arab-Jewish co-operation on the trade union field, and in the recent joint actions to secure improved working conditions.

The question of any further immigration into Palestine must be subject to agreement by the Arabs and Jews of Palestine.

Congress believes that with co-operation between Arab and Jews, the Arab peoples of Palestine would be ready to agree to the immigration of some of the displaced Jews of Europe.

It calls on the Jews and Arabs of Palestine to co-operate in seeking this solution, and in particular calls on progressive Arabs and Jews to resolve their differences and unite to this end.

## **Resolution on**

### **YOUTH**

This Congress, recognising the need for and value of a Youth movement, urges all Branches of the Party to pay increasing attention to the establishment and development of branches of the Young Communist League. Only by this strengthening of the Young Communist League, and in no other way, can we fulfil our responsibility to Youth, and carry forward our Party's fight for the strengthening of all democratic Youth organisations, and for the ultimate uniting of all Socialist Youth.

## **Resolution on**

### **COAL PRODUCTION**

This Congress, realising that coal is urgent to the reconstruction of the country, and conscious that coal production this winter will be a test case for the Labour Government, welcomes the lead given by the Minister of Fuel and Power and the National Union of Mineworkers. We are confident that the miners will do everything possible to reach the targets set, and, in pledging the full support of the Communist Party, we call upon every Communist miner to set an example by his personal work in the pits.

Congress further recognises that the efforts of the whole Labour movement are needed to support the demands of the miners, to throw its

weight behind the measures taken by the Government and the miners to avoid a coal crisis, and also to carry through a Fuel Economy campaign.

Congress, however, gives due warning to the Government that its reluctance to provide adequate rates of compensation in the new Bill is causing widespread discontent and can, if not remedied forthwith, seriously affect the campaign for increased output and successful nationalisation.

The appeal for more coal will meet with a much more ready response if the Government:—

Speeds up the supplies of belting, machinery and spare parts;

Gives an immediate pledge to the miners as to when it will introduce the 5-day week, two weeks' holiday with pay, and retiring pensions;

Meet the reasonable demand of the National Union of Mineworkers for 55/- a week for injured miners;

Takes immediate steps to extend the medical services so that adequately staffed and equipped health centres are established in the mining areas;

Takes special measures to provide more training facilities for new entrants to the mines; and

On this basis induces ex-Service miners to return to the industry.

### **Resolution on OLD AGE PENSIONS**

This Congress pledges its fullest support for the Old Age Pensioners' Charter. While congratulating those M.P.s who are endeavouring to secure more measure of immediate relief, Congress calls upon the Labour Government and the Ministry of National Insurance for the rapid introduction of Pensions of 30/- per week for all men and women of sixty years or over, without a Means Test.

### **Resolution on LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

This Congress recognises that the increasing responsibilities for the education, health and well-being of the people cannot be placed on the already overburdened and out-of-date structure of local government, with its overlapping boundaries, multiplicity of authorities and joint authorities, and inadequate and unfair financial system. It believes that in order to remove anomalies, to ensure the utmost efficiency and economy in administration, to secure the scientific planning of essential services and industry, with properly balanced and closely integrated urban and rural populations, the time has come for a complete overhaul of the existing structure of local government, based on a democratic two-tier system of regional and district authorities, with provision made for the corporate expression of the smaller population neighbourhood units of ward and parish.

This Congress therefore considers that the setting up of the Boundaries Commission, with its present terms of reference, is inadequate, and calls on the Government to set up an Inter-Departmental Committee, consisting of the Government Departments concerned, local authorities, M.P.s and experts, as suggested in the Memorandum on Local Government Reform presented by the Executive Committee to the Minister of Health in October, 1945, with the following terms of reference:—

- i. To survey the implications of current and pending legislation on the major social services;



- ii. To survey the proposals made by various responsible public bodies and political parties for local government re-organisation.
- iii. To report on proposed changes in local government structure, bearing in mind the equal need for efficiency to meet the new stage of administration of social services, and for democratic structure and control.

This Congress calls on all Districts of the Party to consider these proposals and examine their application to their own areas, with a view to assisting in the work of such an Inter-Departmental Committee.

In the meantime the Party must ensure that the present Authorities are made as effective as possible. To this end, it should encourage the fullest participation of the local Labour and trade union movement in the work of the Council, and should insist that local authorities should be given power to recompense councillors where loss of earnings is occasioned by the performance of their civic duties.

### **Resolution on WALES**

This Congress welcomes the Government proposal to reform the procedure of the House of Commons in order to speed the achievement of Labour's progressive aims. It strongly urges the necessity to consider, as part of the process, the immediate appointment of a Secretary of State for Wales with similar functions as now exist for Scotland, and the preparation of measures for the establishment of a Welsh Parliament for Welsh Affairs, and a Scottish Parliament for Scottish Affairs.

It further demands that the whole of Wales be scheduled as a Development Area, so as to prevent the North as well as South Wales again becoming a depressed area; and to exercise its power to retain war-time industries for peace-time production, and for the compulsory direction of industry to Wales.

### **Resolution on SCOTLAND**

Congress calls upon the Government for immediate action to tackle the special economic problems of Scotland, now arising acutely as a result of reconversion and the switch-over to peace-time industry. The closing down of the M.A.P. Establishments and the Scottish Aircraft Industry, the long delay in deciding the future of Rolls-Royce, Hillington, Prestwick, Rosyth and many other industrial units, the serious position especially in Lanarkshire with rapidly rising unemployment has produced uncertainty and concern among the Scottish people for the future.

While Scotland's basic industries, after some adjustment, are likely to be fully employed in the next period, no firm plans have come from the Government for the development of new light industries, urgently needed before the war, and doubly needed now.

While three R.O.F.s and the two R.N.T.E.s are being retained, in the main they will employ nothing like their war-time numbers. While it seems that a future is assured for Prestwick and Congress welcomes the new industries so far started, and the new industrial estates contemplated, these measures are completely inadequate to employ the necessary numbers. Few modern factory units were built during the war with the result there is a serious danger that the new light engineering, aircraft, motor, electrical,



radio and consumption foods industries will again by-pass Scotland in the next months because of the lack of modern factory space, thus intensifying in the post-war period Scotland's pre-war legacy of lop-sided economic development and creating consequent unemployment.

Congress calls on the Government for immediate proposals for Scotland's economic future, for light industries capable of absorbing at least 100,000 workers, for an immediate tackling of the serious Lanarkshire position. It demands an immediate Government decision on the retention of the aircraft industry. It regards the provisions of the Distribution of Industry Act as completely inadequate and demands that the Government take powers to direct industry to Scotland. Pending this, it demands a standstill in the further closing of factories.

Such a Government plan for Scotland should not only include the immediate provision of light industries but also firm proposals for the development and modernisation of basic industries, vital for capital reconstruction in Britain. It must state the Government programme for Ship-building for the next five years, the rapid scientific development of Scotland's coal resources, the modernisation and extension of the clothing industry, immediate proposals for the future of the jute industry, and long-term proposals for a prosperous Scottish agriculture.

Congress calls for the creation by the Government of a Scottish Planning Commission to facilitate Scotland's economic development and to swiftly carry out such a plan, the creation of a Scottish Department of the Board of Trade and a Scottish Department of Labour. Regular meetings of Scottish M.P.s are all vital to ensure a concerted attention in Parliament to Scotland's special problems.

Congress expresses its extreme concern at the slowness in tackling Scotland's special problems and stresses the urgency for immediate action by the Government on such proposals.

## **Resolution on SPAIN**

This Congress welcomes the decision of the World Trade Union Federation calling on the Governments of the United Nations to break relations with Franco.

We urge the British Government at once to take steps to break off diplomatic relations and end all economic support for the fascist Government of Franco.

At the same time, we call on our Government to recognise the legal Spanish Government and to give it every encouragement to become fully representative of all sections of the real Spain outside the fascists.

Having in mind the great increase in the Franco terror, particularly the recent executions, imminent death threat to Santiago Alvarez and Sebastian Zapařain, and the news of new arrests of anti-fascists, we call on the Government to make the strongest possible representations to Franco to stop the arrests, release the prisoners and end the terror.

Finally, we demand that our own Government ends the present intolerable situation in this country by immediately setting free all the Spanish Republican prisoners already detained for many months in prisoner-of-war camps here, although all of them are anti-fascists and most have a splendid record in the struggle against fascism, and grant them safe transit to the country of their choice.

## **Resolution on CULTURAL ACTIVITIES**

That this Congress is concerned at the slow growth of our Party and attributes some part of the responsibility for this to the sectarian outlook still prevailing in some sections of the Party. To change this, it is essential that our members take a lively interest in all questions in which the people are interested, including social, art, music, literature, entertainment and sport. We must strive to end the feeling, which undoubtedly exists, that members of the Communist Party should be interested only in political activity, because such an attitude helps to isolate the members from local life.

We suggest that our Party should give its support to cultural activities and that its branches and area organisations should develop entertainment and sport alongside their political work.

## **Resolution on THE MEANS TEST**

That this Congress calls upon the Government to withdraw Part 2 of the Unemployment Act (1934) (that part which imposes a Means Test upon all receiving an allowance from the Unemployment Assistance Board) as such a Means Test is just as inhuman and homebreaking under a Labour Government as it is under a Tory Government.

## **Resolution on THE POTTERIES INDUSTRY**

The Communist Party is aware of and deplores the conditions that exist in the Pottery Industry and demands that the Factory Acts of 1938 be brought into immediate operation. To do this the majority of the factories would have to be rebuilt, and, if we are going to reduce the risk of silicosis, this must be attended to now. When the first routine examination of 3,185 workers in this most dangerous trade was carried out in 1931 to 1932, it was found that 1 in 10 showed definite evidence of silicosis, whilst people who had worked in the industry 20 years, the proportion was 1 in 3. Since that time there has been an average of nearly 50 deaths from Pottery Silicosis every year in the Stoke-on-Trent District.

We approve of the reconstruction policy of the National Society of Pottery Workers as set out in their report on the reconstruction of the Pottery Industry, and we pledge our support in the carrying out of this policy.

We welcome the setting up of the working party in the Pottery Industry, whilst recognising that the prime responsibility for putting forward a policy in the best interest of the workers rests with the trade union within the working party. The Union's ability to do this depends upon the active support given to it by the workers in the industry. The Communist Party pledges to assist the workers in giving their support.

## **Resolution on NURSERIES**

In order that women may play their full part in the building of the new Britain, this Congress considers that, in addition to the retention of Nurseries for babies of working mothers, it is necessary to supply care before and after school hours for children of school age, and therefore urges the Labour Government to consider this on a national scale.

## **Resolution on MEMBERS IN FORCES**

This Congress urges all Branches of the Party to increase their contacts with members in Forces, especially because of the difficult time many will have in serving in peace-time Army.

## **AMENDMENTS TO RULES**

**Proposed by the Executive Committee and adopted by Congress**

Rule 3(b) Proposed to reduce the levy for the Central Election Fund in the case of unemployed members, housewives and old-age pensioners, to 2d. per quarter.

Rule 7(a) now reads as under:

"Districts shall be constituted by the Executive Committee in suitable geographical and industrial areas. An annual District Congress shall be convened by each District Committee, and composed of delegates from all Branches in the District in accordance with their numerical strength, on a basis determined by the District Committee in consultation with the Executive Committee."

Proposed to add the following words:

*"In Districts where Area or Borough Committees exist, representation from these bodies can be decided at the discretion of the District Committee."*

Rule 7(c) now reads:

"The District Committee, in agreement with the Executive Committee, may constitute Sub-Districts and determine the constitution and function of the Sub-District Committee."

Proposed to substitute the following:

*"The District Committee, in agreement with the Executive Committee, may constitute and provide for the election of Area, City or Borough Committees, and determine the constitution and function of these bodies."*

Rule 8(a) now reads:

"Branches shall be organised on the authority of the District Committee, to include members living or working in the Branch area."

Proposed to substitute the following:

*"Branches shall be organised on the authority of the District Committee, and comprised of all members living in the area defined."*

shall establish Party groups in factories, mines, and other industrial, transport or commercial undertakings, for Party members working therein, and Ward or other area groups for other members."

Proposed to substitute the following:

*"The Branch Committee shall be responsible for ensuring the organised political work of Party members, through Factory Committees and full meetings of the members, in factories, mines, and other industrial, transport and commercial undertakings, as well as in the Wards and streets. In the case of large enterprises, the direction of the work may be undertaken by the Borough, Area or District Committee."*

## RESOLUTIONS REFERRED BY CONGRESS TO THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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2. Other Resolutions referred to the Executive Committee.

- 26 U.N.R.R.A.
- 33 U.S.S.R. Elections.
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- 219 Monthly Theoretical Journal of Marxist Teaching.
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- 245 *Daily Worker*: Articles on Social Democracy and Marxist Policy.
- 249 Party Badge.
- 254 Popularising of Executive Committee members.
- 255 Communist Party and Co-operative Movement.
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